

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXVIII. VOL. II. No. 11.]

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2ND, 1841.

[PRICE THREEPENCE.

## CONTENTS.

Liverpool resolutions.....	113	United States.....	121
Leeds ditto.....	—	Irish Emigrants to Jamaica..	—
France .....	—	Report of the British & Foreign	—
Holland .....	114	Anti-Slavery Society.....	122
Spain .....	—	Texas Land and Emigration	—
Meeting of the Imperial Bra-	—	Company.....	123
zilian Mining Company....	—	The commerce of British India,	—
Thoughts on the Sugar Ques-	—	viewed in its probable in-	—
tion.....	118	fluence on the Slave-pro-	—
Fellowship with Slave-holders	—	ducts of the United States;	—
Thoughts on the Sugar Question	—	By an American.....	125
LEADERS: The Queen of Por-	—	Slavery in British India, No. 5.	126
tugal. ....	120	Slavery in the United States..	127
The Sugar Question .....	—	The Slave-Trade abolished by	—
The next Convention.....	—	the Bey of Tunis .....	—
Jamaica .....	—	Contributions .....	128
Greek Slave-Trade .....	—		

## Advertisements.

### INDIA.

**This Day is Published,**

## SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN BRITISH INDIA;

With notices of the existence of these evils in Ceylon, Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, from official documents.

**PRICE ONE SHILLING.**

Showing the extent of Slavery in British India; the laws which regulated it; the present condition of the slave-population; the external and internal Slave-trade; and the proceedings in Great Britain and India relative thereto.

WARD AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

**A**T a Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Committee, and other Friends of the Negro, held at the Court-house, in LEEDS, 19th May, 1841.

ROBERT JOWITT, in the Chair;

IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED,

1. That we regard with high satisfaction the statements put forth by the West India interest, in their recent petitions to Parliament, and in the debates thereupon, as to the expected supply of sugar from the British colonies under the system of free labour, and of its probable sufficiency for the demand of this country—as an abandonment of their unfounded alarms, and gloomy prognostications, with respect to the working of the system of freedom.

2. That we are strongly of opinion that these statements cannot be realized, and the cultivation of the colonies ensured to the full extent of their capabilities, without the payment of fair rates of wages, the separation of rent from wages, and the relinquishment of oppressive police and vagrant laws, and all other attempts to coerce labour, and to restore, indirectly but in fact, the slavery now happily, in name, abolished.

3. That, having always maintained slavery to be a system as costly and ruinous to the masters as it is cruel and iniquitous towards the slave, we have no fears as to the capability of the population of the British possessions in the East and West Indies, if made really free, in fact as well as in name, to compete in the production of sugar with any country where slavery is still maintained. But we believe that competition, in this as in all other cases, would eventually conduce to the general welfare, because monopoly tends, as seen in the British West Indies, to check enterprise and economical improvements, and to promote wasteful and unscientific methods of production; while it is at the root of numerous abuses, highly detrimental to the interests of the emancipated population of those colonies.

4. That, without pronouncing as a body any opinion upon the financial measures of her Majesty's government, which we consider alien from the higher motives which impel us to seek the destruction of slavery and the slave-trade, we are of opinion that the recent petition from the committee of the London Anti-Slavery Society is not such as we should have concurred in.

ROBERT JOWITT, Chairman.  
WILLIAM WEST, Secretary.

**A**T a Meeting of the LIVERPOOL ANTI-SLAVERY Committee, held on Wednesday, May 12th, 1841,

JOHN CROPPER, Jun. Esq., President, in the Chair.

It was moved by William Kay, Esq., seconded by William Rathbone, Esq.:

1.—That this Committee record their unwavering abhorrence of the anti-christian systems of slavery and the slave trade, and their unshaken attachment to every legitimate means for their universal extinction.

Carried, *nem. con.*

It was moved by Dr. Sutherland, seconded by William Crosfield, Esq.:

2.—That this Committee regret to learn, on high and unquestioned authority, that all previous and hostile efforts to secure their abolition have not only signally failed, but that the victims of the detestable traffic have increased fearfully in amount and aggravated suffering.

Carried, *nem. con.*

It was moved by James Ryley, Esq., Jun., and seconded by Mr. Alderman Bulley:

3.—That, adhering to these principles, and at the same time recognizing the principles of free trade, conceding to which the legislature has removed the restrictions formerly imposed on the trade of the British West Indies; and considering, on the other hand, the immense interests of this manufacturing country, this Committee record their approval of the proposed measures for the reduction of the duties on sugar, as essential to the relief of our own oppressed and suffering population.

Carried, *nem. con.*

It was moved by Richard Fry, Esq., seconded by Michael Ashton, Esq.:

4. That while this Committee would afford no sanction to monopoly prices, which only present fresh inducements to the coercion and injury of the free labourers in the emancipated colonies, they are at the same time firmly of opinion that these fiscal arrangements, taking into account the sacrifices this country has already made, ought to be coupled with such negotiations with slave-holding states as would lead to the abandonment of the costly and cruel system of slavery, and its concomitant evil the slave-trade, and with the determination to admit, from all countries, at once, on equal terms, sugar and other produce the result of free labour.

Carried, *nem. con.*

It was moved by Mr. Alderman Blackburn, seconded by William Rathbone, Esq.:

5.—That as, in the opinion of this Committee, free labour, when fairly brought into operation, is cheaper than that of slaves, the most effectual means of abolishing slavery will be found in the fair competition of free and coerced labour; and, as the contest between the two must eventually take place, they cannot but regard the proposed alteration in the duties on sugar as the commencement of a course at once beneficial and wise, and calculated, in its ultimate effect, to promote the entire abolition of slavery in every part of the world.

Carried, *nem. con.*

JOHN CROPPER, JUN., President.  
WILLIAM BEVAN, Secretary.

## FRANCE.

THE following is the substance of a letter addressed by M. Isambert to Mr. Tredgold, dated,

Paris, May 18th, 1841.

We have had in the chamber of deputies, during the last two days, a discussion on a bill, the object of which is to withdraw from the four slave colonies of France the right (imprudently conceded to them in 1833) of voting money, which gives the colonial aristocracy the power of oppressing the coloured population. M. Isambert produced several scandalous examples of the fact. Among others, it appears, that the council at Guadeloupe has voted, at different times, nearly 100,000 francs to writers and journals, in order to sustain the system of slavery. So scandalous, indeed, has been the conduct of the council at Guadeloupe, that it appears the French government has sent orders to the governor of the colony to dissolve it.

Many of the members of the chamber of deputies who formerly opposed the abolition of slavery, have not only become resigned to the measure, but express themselves strongly in favour of its necessity. Indeed, public opinion is now so strong upon the subject, that the honour of France can no longer suffer its continuance. The present cabinet will present to the chambers, at their next session, the law of emancipation; and M. Guizot, it is hoped, will not fail in the duty imposed upon him. If the cabinet should be modified between this and the next session, the anti-slavery party in it will be strengthened, rather than weakened, by the change. Our hopes consequently are strong.



The French anti-slavery society have repudiated the idea of compensation to the planters, on the ground that it cannot recognise the right of man to property in his fellow-man.

#### HOLLAND.

THE anti-slavery leaven is working here, as appears by the following extracts from a letter to Mr. G. W. Alexander from Mr. J. S. Mollett, dated

Amsterdam, 2nd 5th mo. (June,) 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have long intended to address thee at some length, but have been prevented from doing so, partly on account of my occupations, and partly because I have been in daily expectation of having a very important communication to make thee, about a plan which has originated with one of the planters of Surinam, and which would have a result entirely conformable to our wishes—namely, the complete emancipation of the slaves of that colony. But thou knowest how slow the Dutch are in all their operations, and canst not be surprised, therefore, that I am as yet still waiting. I am afraid, also, that even this plan will meet with considerable opposition from the side of government; and I begin to think that we shall obtain our ends, even without its being put into execution, though perhaps not without much struggle.

The work of our friend J. J. Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies*, of which the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society sent me two copies, has been circulated among the proprietors of the West India estates, and is still circulating, lent from one to the other as a sort of favour, and on that account more eagerly read than it would have been otherwise. Has made a deep impression on the minds of several of them, who are among the most influential. It would have made a still deeper impression if it had been translated into French, as some of the proprietors are not able to read English. I know already several who are convinced that some steps ought to be taken immediately, to prepare the slaves for emancipation; and I advise them to try the method of paying them a fixed salary for the work which they have to perform, with an extra bonus for every thing they do besides, to encourage matrimony and prevent prostitution, to promote religious instruction, and to have a care that the children be well taken care of, in a physical as well as in a moral way. Much harm is done also for want of proper medical and surgical assistance, the patients being too oft abandoned to the care of old women, who use all sorts of superstitious practices to cure them, which is one among the many causes of mortality. As to religious instruction, it is already improving rapidly, but the Moravians cannot supply as many missionaries as would be wanted. Schools are building in several places, but not yet in sufficient quantity.

The free negroes have been again visited, and many seem disposed to embrace christianity, and to enlarge their agriculture.

There are not a few people in the colony who consider the emancipation of slaves as a step which ought to be taken as soon as possible. A petition was read a few days ago in the Second Chamber of the States-general, demanding both that the slaves should be made free, and Paramaribo made a free port; although nothing was decided, as the legislature of this country has no control over the colonies, which are wholly and exclusively under the direction and management of the king, who has also received a similar petition. Surinam is a colony which costs the government a great deal more than it produces. I had last week a visit from our friend — of Groningen. He tells me that they have formed themselves into a society, which, though entertaining anti-slavery principles, has not assumed that title, but call themselves the Society for the Promotion of the Temporal and Spiritual Welfare of the Negroes in the West India Plantations. The formation of an anti-slavery society in this city is as impossible as ever; and, from what I observe, would do more harm than good. But the circulation of anti-slavery publications is productive of much good. I am much assisted in that way by my friend, James Ingram, the Presbyterian preacher. Being acquainted with several of the planters, he lends them the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* as an object of curiosity; and, as they know they must return it, they feel more anxious to peruse it than if they were to detain it. This is also the case with some others of those to whom I distribute it. I am sure it leaves strong impressions, and has already shaken some deeply-rooted prejudices. If I could have some complete sets I might place them in some of our public libraries; but some of the first numbers are entirely exhausted, as in the beginning I did not receive twelve numbers of each as I do now.

We earnestly direct attention to a pamphlet which has just appeared, under the title of *Slavery and the Slave-trade in British India*. Considerable portions of it have already appeared in our columns; but the pamphlet contains much additional matter, and is of great value, as giving a view of the subject authenticated by constant reference to the parliamentary papers. For the instruction of the uninformed, and for the silencing of cavillers, it is, we think, of unequalled utility.

We are happy to see a lively interest in this matter diffusing itself through the country. Within these few days the attention of the public has been called to it, at two meetings which have been held, the one at Dublin, the other at Leeds. At both these places a petition to parliament for the abolition of slavery in India was unanimously adopted. Although, of course, there can be no expectation of parliamentary progress during the current session, the present moment is peculiarly favourable for pressing the subject on the notice of candidates for the popular suffrage.

#### SPAIN.

WE are enabled to lay before our readers the following interesting extracts of a letter from a gentleman in Spain, to Mr. G. W. Alexander, of the date of the 15th of May, 1841.

"I have been detained much longer here than I could have anticipated on my arrival. I deeply regret this, if I could, by any exertions of mine, arouse a feeling in —, or continue to keep alive the interest already excited, with reference to the oppressed and wretched state of the slave in the colonies dependent on this country. I have kept up a correspondence with my friends there, and I have lost no opportunity to urge them to exertion on a subject, on which, any man possessed of the common feelings of humanity, must feel deeply. Every man professing himself a christian can have but one opinion on the matter; and, for myself, I have viewed this vile traffic in human souls as the most abhorrent of crimes, and now, that my attention has been more particularly directed to the subject, by our chance meeting, and further by the details published in that most valuable little journal, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, I would feel it as indeed a holy work to direct every energy of my soul, every exertion within the limits of my humble capacity, for the complete abolition of a traffic, so fraught with evils to society generally, and so at variance with every principle of christianity and justice. I have never lost an opportunity of advocating the abolition of slavery in every society among which I have mingled. I think, however, that any intemperate zeal would lead to no result, and that it is better to watch the passing scenes, impressed with a most thorough conviction, that the day is not far distant, when the abolition of slavery will be proclaimed with a loud voice, from one coast to the other of the continent of Spain. The country is rapidly advancing in civilization and knowledge, and with this growing intelligence, the slavery system cannot long find advocates, even looking on it, as it is generally looked upon, as a system of expediency, a deviation from which, it is asserted, would insure the loss to Spain of one of the most valuable additions to the crown.

#### IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING COMPANY.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Proprietary of this Company was held at the London Tavern, at one o'clock, on Thursday, the 13th of May, 1841; Joshua Walker, Esq., in the Chair.

The attendance was unusually large, in consequence of the following Address having been circulated among the shareholders:—

#### "TO THE SHAREHOLDERS OF THE IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING COMPANY."

"Having, unknowingly in the first instance, become shareholders in a Mining Company which employs slave-labour, we deeply feel the responsibility which devolves upon us, and upon all who have an interest in companies similarly situated. Thus impressed, allow us to call attention to the painful fact, that you, with ourselves, are slave-holders, and to present to you some information and reflections in connexion with the subject.

"We may observe, that the Brazilian Mining Company claims about 413 slaves, of whom about 168 are men, about 114 are women, and about 131 are children; and, in addition, there are forty slaves hired by contract for a period of two years. Allow us to remind you, that the slaves which are thus owned or hired are the victims or descendants of those who were obtained by cruel wars carried on in Africa, in many instances waged for the very purpose of procuring captives for sale, or have been procured in other ways no less inconsistent with humanity and religion. This is the origin of the slavery the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company is countenancing.

"We not only object in the strongest manner to the way in which this unrighteous species of property is acquired, but to the system of slavery, as in itself unjust and necessarily cruel. We cannot but regard such a system as in direct opposition to the righteous law of God, and to the merciful principles of the gospel.

"Entertaining these views of the essential character of slavery, we must strongly deprecate the countenance of it by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company under any circumstances. We have, however, thought it our duty to make some inquiry as to the particular situation of the slaves held by the Company; and we regret, that, upon several important points on which we have sought information, we have either not been able to obtain it, or that which we have obtained is of the most unsatisfactory character: for instance, the nature, extent, and effect of the punishments inflicted on the slaves is not known to our Directors—only one return of such punishments appears to have been sent home, and that several years since! And, with respect to the education of the slaves, it appears to have been abandoned in deference to the feelings and wishes of the slaveholders in the vicinity!

"We will not dwell upon the statements which have been made of cruelties perpetrated by some of the servants of the company, when separated thousands of miles from the Directors—some of which, however, we believe to be too true; we would rather call your attention to the circumstance, that the slavery which is thus sanctioned by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company is a system by which millions of human beings are subjected to a debasing, cruel, and in many instances, life-destroying bondage—a system which fosters, both on the part of the slave and his oppressor, a fearful amount of immorality, and neglect of religious obligations.

"It must also be ever borne in mind, that, as slavery originated in the enormous iniquity of the slave-trade, so it continually fosters this evil, which exists to an enormous extent in the Brazils, in despite of laws for its abolition; the number of its annual victims is calculated at 60,000! With a knowledge of these facts, can you withhold your most strenuous exertions to remove from your character the reproach of being a slaveholder, and from your conscience the guilt of being implicated in a



crime so fatally and extensively destructive to human happiness, and to the advancement of civilization and religion?

"The directors have, in accordance with our earnest request, resolved, to make the general meeting of the proprietary on the 13th of 5th mo. (May) special, for the consideration of the propriety of emancipating the slaves, and providing for the security of their future freedom; we, therefore, respectfully but earnestly call upon our brother shareholders to attend that meeting, or entrust their proxies to the friends of this righteous cause; and we trust they will be so deeply impressed with the necessity of this step, that they will freely offer their assistance to accomplish it; and let all bear in mind the precept of our Holy Redeemer, 'Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' Should the company perform that act of justice which is sought at their hands, we entertain the hope that it would in no small degree promote the righteous cause of emancipation in Brazil, and in other parts of the world.

"For ourselves, we feel it a solemn duty to protest against the employment of slave-labour by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, and express our determination to use our most earnest exertions to prevent its continuance, whenever an opportunity is afforded.

Signed

"EDWARD HARRIS, London.

"GEORGE THOMAS,

"EDWARD THOMAS,

"JOSEPH FRY,

"FRANCIS FRY,

"RICHARD FRY,

"HENRY TUCKETT, London.

} Bristol.

"Any communication on the subject may be addressed to Henry Tuckett, at No. 7, South-street, Finsbury.

"London, 4th mo. 26th, 1841."

The CHAIRMAN opened the business of the meeting by reading the report of the Directors.

Mr. GIBSON, the treasurer of the Company, read the statement of accounts.

The CHAIRMAN then said.—As our time advances rapidly, and the report has been a very long one, I will proceed at once to the usual business of the day. The resolution which I have to propose is, "That the report and statement of accounts now read be received and adopted, and that the same, together with the appendix, be printed, at the discretion of the directors, for the use of the proprietors."

Mr. GEORGE THOMAS.—I suppose that the adoption of that report would not preclude me from making the motion which the requisition has given notice of.

Mr. GIBSON.—O! certainly it would.

Mr. THOMAS.—In that case I must move an amendment to that report, and the amendment which I propose is as follows:—"That measures be taken immediately to emancipate the slaves held by this company, and to secure to them their future freedom." It is very nearly in the words of the requisition. I shall move that as an amendment, if I am to be precluded from moving it in any other shape. I observe that, in the report delivered by the directors, they have stated that the gentlemen who have signed the requisition have been shareholders for a number of years; that various reports have been sent out, in which it has been stated that slaves were employed by the company, and that they conceive that that fact is incompatible with the declaration of the requisitionists, that they were ignorant that slaves were employed in these mines. But I beg leave to state to the directors, that we do not say that we were at a late time ignorant of the fact, but "unknowingly in the first instance;" and I would put it to this meeting, how it is possible for any member of this association to be acquainted with that fact, till he actually becomes a member of the association. There is no such thing as a report sent to a person before he buys the shares; and therefore how is he to know that? I think this is a complete answer to that point. However, I do state for myself, and I believe I may state for my friends, that we were ignorant, entirely ignorant, in the first instance, of these mines being worked by slaves. (Cries of Oh! oh!) I can only say for myself, gentlemen may believe me, or not believe me, as they please, that I did suppose that these mines were worked entirely by British miners, because I had an opportunity of seeing that Cornish miners were sent out. Immediately after discovering that we were so circumstanced, (it was with great regret that we discovered it) we did, through our friend Samuel Waring, who was, I believe, well acquainted with many of the directors, make efforts to get an alteration made, or ameliorations carried into effect for the benefit of the slaves. Those ameliorations have been alluded to in the report of the directors which has been read this morning; and we do not mean to call in question the statement that some ameliorations have been carried into effect by the directors. If I mistake not, a resolution was passed in 1830 to emancipate the children, and I believe, in 1833, provision was made for their education. Then, besides that, there was a resolution, or at least an instruction—I believe I gathered so much from the report—an instruction to the chief commissioner, that he might, under certain conditions, liberate a certain number of adults yearly, not exceeding ten. Now the ground of our calling this meeting is, that we were satisfied at that time with the steps taken by the directors to ameliorate the condition of the negro population; but, from certain documents which have been printed—we disclaim those of Mr. Kentish entirely, that individual being actuated by mercenary motives, and we agree in what the directors say upon that point. But, if the directors are to bring forward evidence to support their report, namely, that of the officers of the company, surely those who have signed the requisition have an equal right to appeal to documents issued by those very gentlemen (I mean Mr. Bayly and Colonel Skerrett), to show that the directors have gone in a retrograde course, rather than forward. That is one point which has made the gentlemen who have signed the requisition uncomfortable; that the original intentions of the directors, instead of being carried out, have been either relaxed or given up. In order to show that, I shall read to this meeting certain documents, signed by the two gentlemen who have been so largely quoted in the report today. The first is signed, "H. L. Bayly."

A PROPRIETOR.—What is the date, pray?

Mr. THOMAS.—It is dated the 16th of November, 1840. I will first state, that the Directors having identified the statements of Mr. Bayly, I need not produce proofs of it. In this letter, which is dated the 16th of November, 1840.—

A PROPRIETOR.—From whence?

Mr. THOMAS.—Rathfarnham, county of Dublin. In this letter he says, "Women, when pregnant, do not work for two months previous to their confinement; they remain all day in a large shed, taking care of the younger children (this was the regular rule); and formerly they went to hospital a month or more before they expected to be confined. I am sorry, however, to say, that the system had been altered after the departure of Dr. Collier, when they were prohibited from going to hospital till they were in daily expectation of being confined, and, in one instance, a woman was confined in her own house; this was owing to her not having been admitted into hospital when her time for so doing had arrived. Late regulations prohibited the slaves from remaining in hospital, unless they were severely ill. Numbers have informed me that they could not work on account of illness, and that, when they went to hospital, they were told they were not ill, and they must go back to their work. I immediately, when they appeared to me to be ill, sent them back to hospital, and this in many instances several times; when they were, with few exceptions, again sent back to me. When this failed, I had no alternative left but to keep them in the wine shed, where several were obliged to remain for many days, quite incapable of doing any work. Here they were exposed to the draught of an open shed, where children were playing and making a noise all the day. This gave me great pain; and, after I had remonstrated with the doctor, I was driven to the painful alternative of reporting the matter officially in writing, but I am sorry to say, without effect—which made me feel that I was not properly supported, and made me desirous of quitting the service. The injurious result this had generally, together with the severe regulations adopted in the hospital, made me acquainted with many cases amongst the blacks of persons severely ill, which they would rather endure than subject themselves to the treatment they met with in hospital, or to be told they were only 'skulking.' A long correspondence took place between Mr. Duval and myself on this subject, but I am sorry to say it ended like most other things, without redress, which determined me to give it up, which I did in disgust."

A PROPRIETOR.—Who is this person?

Mr. THOMAS.—The late Superintendent of the Gongo Soco slaves.

A PROPRIETOR.—Did he retire, or was he discharged?

The CHAIRMAN.—He retired in consequence of ill health.

Mr. THOMAS.—I will also read to you another extract, in order to show that the Directors recognise the statements of this gentleman; it is from a letter signed J. C. and H. Freshfield, and addressed to the editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, October 21st, 1840. "The Directors, some months since, extracted from a letter of your correspondent, the principal charges which appear to be reiterated, nearly verbatim, in your paper; and we now transmit to you these, with the replies they received from a gentleman who had the charge of the blacks on their establishment for seven years, from 1832 to 1839, and who, having left the service of the association, had no inducement to represent any facts otherwise than as they really existed." I read this in order to show that the Directors identify themselves with this gentleman, and that he was a servant of the company. Then as to the stop put to emancipation, he states this:—"I have always regretted the stop put to emancipation by Mr. Duval, of course with the sanction of the board, as having had the very worst possible effect. The emulation it created to obtain that greatest of all boons to this unfortunate class of persons, and the success which attended the experiment was, at one period, beyond the expectations of the most sanguine—nothing could surpass it; their conduct was the admiration of every one possessing a heart to appreciate it. This continued till after the arrival of Mr. Duval, when he informed me he would not free any more, because it had been found not to answer. Because, truly, three or four out of fifteen had behaved ill after his arrival in Gongo, the remaining 288 were therefore to suffer perpetual slavery on their account! Surely it would be expecting too much, to suppose that a man brought up in slavery and in ignorance could change his nature in a day. What I saw of emancipation in Gongo answered my utmost expectations; many were the appeals to me, why it was not to continue; and I am confident that, from the hour I was obliged to make Mr. Duval's sentiments known to them, they never were the same. There were many at that time who ought to have had, and did expect their freedom; and I am prepared at this moment with the names of a dozen, at least, who would now be enjoying that blessing, had Mr. Avaline lived to avail himself of the consent obtained from the board by his predecessor. About five months after the arrival of Mr. Duval at Gongo, the slaves became so careless and indifferent—now mark the effects gentlemen—"and crime gradually increased to so serious an extent, in consequence of an altered and new system attempted by him, that I was obliged to represent very strongly to Mr. Duval, that, unless some prompt means were put in force to stop it, I could not possibly answer for the consequences; and I begged to assure him, I would not remain longer in the service of the association than to the expiration of my then engagement, 10th of January, 1837. Soon after this, an order was issued, in which the entire charge of the slaves was handed over to me, and which remained in force up to the time of my departure." Now, that is one of the facts which I have to bring forward, to show that, in the opinion of this gentleman, the directors, instead of carrying out those good intentions which they formed in 1830 and 1833, were taking a retrograde motion. Now, from the same authority, though not from the same individual, but from the authority quoted by the directors in their report, I have from another late officer of the company information which fully bears me out in saying, that such was the state of the case at least if the documents themselves are to be depended upon. This is from Colonel Skerrett, dated January 8th, 1841, from Ireland. "I shall confine myself to what I know or heard from the latter part of 1829 to 1835 inclusive, during which I positively deny, in the most unqualified terms, that a single sentiment was ever expressed by the directors, either verbally or in their letters, publicly or privately, collectively or individually, that did not manifest the most perfect humanity and unsparing liberality towards the negroes of the company." I beg to say, that nobody wishes to deny this statement; all that we want is that they should carry out their own views at that time, and carry them a little further. "And if they did not go quite so far with me in the last act of bounty (strongly as I urged it) I was myself sensible of the obstacles that opposed it, in the customs and prejudices of Brazil, and the guardianship of those interests over which they presided; nor could I flatter myself that no considerations, no representations, and no views, but those of their commissioner, would find favour in the calm deliberations



of a distant board, subject to be misled by plausible, ignorant, or designing parties. I was therefore satisfied with the permission humanely and generously granted, to proceed in the experiment already commenced in 1833 at my own risk, trusting to its ultimate extension in proportion to its success. Before I received the appointment of commissioner in 1829, my sentiments were investigated respecting the treatment of slaves. I fully expressed my disgust at what I had witnessed at the Cape of Good Hope, and stated fairly that I had brought the subject before the commissioners of inquiry in that colony, &c. &c. If the directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company did not approve of this, why did they elect me? But, so far from differing with me on the subject—

A PROPRIETOR.—I beg pardon for the interruption; but perhaps you will have the goodness to say, whether what you are reading from is circulated through the country?

Mr. THOMAS.—Yes.

A PROPRIETOR.—Have you any objection to mention the name of it?

Mr. THOMAS.—The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, of January 13th, 1841. "They assured me that their commissioner would be encouraged to use every exertion for the civilization and comfort of the negroes, that the amelioration of their condition was only a preliminary to education and every improvement of which they were susceptible, that every child born on the property was to be actually free from its birth; and they allowed me to infer, that, on our success and my future reports, would depend that which I looked forward to with the deepest anxiety, the blessing of emancipation, at least to the deserving. With this understanding I arrived at Gongo Soco. The slaves presented a better and more healthy appearance than those I had previously met with; it was evident that the company had not limited the expenses of this part of the establishment, but it was equally so that it required the eye of an active and honourable man to protect them. The contractor for their meat was dismissed for fraud, and a new system of messing them adopted, which insured regularity and abundance of excellent food. That they had not acquired the Portuguese language sufficiently, was the cause assigned by the paid Padre for their total ignorance of the worship of the country; and Sunday with them was passed in dancing, and occasionally in riot, till put down, with indiscriminate violence, as a boasted exploit. An appeal to their reason, accompanied with encouraging promise of reward, was adopted, and found to be quite sufficient; and the strictest orders were issued against any sort of ill-treatment by the English. Their motley and fantastic appearance was represented to the board; and uniform and respectable clothing recommended—the directors sent out forthwith a most liberal supply for both sexes: their bedding was that common to the lower orders in all warm climates, and never was complained of. Medals for good conduct were next suggested; they were as promptly provided, and the comfort, emulation, and good order of this little colony soon became the theme of general observation. But I could not carry out my object entirely to my satisfaction, until the arrival of Mr. Bayly. Under that gentleman's zealous superintendency, I no longer apprehended secret violence, either on the part of the miners or the feitores (native overseers, frequently very worthless characters). From the commencement of his guardianship, the improvement in their condition became more rapid; the negroes responded to his exertions, they felt that they could not any longer be ill-treated without my knowledge, or with impunity; and that, although their testimony might be rejected in a Brazilian court, in the jurisdiction to which they were then subjected it was respected. It would be absurd to suppose, that from three to four hundred human beings were to be at once released from all liability to punishment or restraint. It is enough, therefore, to say, that, within the period embraced in this statement, there was not a tenth part of the crime or penalty I have witnessed through life amongst the same number of Europeans, nor was there a single instance."

A PROPRIETOR.—Really, Mr. Chairman, I beg to speak to the point of order. If this gentleman is reading from published documents, I should like to know how much time he means to occupy. Everything we have heard yet is in favour of what the Directors have already told us; and as many gentlemen, who are quite averse to that gentleman's principles, are leaving the room, I think it is only fair that he should tell us how much time he means to occupy.

Mr. THOMAS.—I should think ten minutes would be ample. The fact is, I have nothing to found my case upon but these documents. I have no access to the books of the company, and therefore cannot see what there is there. "It is enough, therefore, to say, that, within the period embraced in this statement, there was not a tenth part of the crime or penalty I have witnessed through life, amongst the same number of Europeans, nor was there a single instance of hasty or severe coercion—the profligacy of ruffians, and its lamented effects, were not chargeable to a management instituted for the prevention or punishment of brutality, and the protection of the weak. Such was the principle on which Mr. Bayly acted during my residence at Gongo, and his feelings were at least rewarded by the devoted gratitude and affection of the poor blacks. The deaths (vide 15th report of the company) decreased. The casualties of 1826-27-28-29, and 30, amounted to more than a hundred, for the succeeding eighteen months only to one; and at length, such was the excellent conduct of the negroes that I felt justified in urging the board to sanction the emancipation of the most deserving." Now that is one of the points to which I wish particularly to call your attention; that the board did agree to a certain number of adults being emancipated year after year, and I believe it cannot be said, that they still go on with that practice.

Mr. GIBSON.—Will you allow me to say, that we were never asked to do it. We proposed it.

Mr. THOMAS.—"I, in fact, had commenced the experiment, and soon after received permission to proceed in it, at the limited rate of ten per annum. This long promised boon was attended with the happiest results. Those who were freed (and they were, with one exception, in the full prime of youth) became, if possible, more zealous in their duties and attachment, generously remaining on very trifling wages"—bear that in mind—"generously remaining on very trifling wages, rather than leave their benefactors, though they were qualified, either as tradesmen or labourers, to obtain the highest elsewhere. They were likewise actuated by a generous desire to encourage the emancipation of their comrades, by a continuance of that conduct by which they had secured their own. Such was the grateful and noble return of these admirable people"—to work for less wages than they could get elsewhere. "In what country was

it ever surpassed? No assumption of superiority was for one moment visible, no symptoms of pride; in all things they were modest, grateful, and obedient, advancing in respectability to the hour of my departure, an hour I shall not easily forget. Is it then extraordinary that I find it difficult to believe their very natures could have altered, that they who for a year and-a-half, proved zealous and affectionate servants, could suddenly by an opposite course, have justified the retraction of a blessing to which all had been permitted to aspire?" Now I think that I have shown you that the directors have gone backwards, if this report is to be depended upon; and I have nothing else to appeal to, but that which I see printed. "A blessing, my humble instrumentalty in which was the principal solace of my arduous position for so many years, and I am confident at that time sincerely participated by all the directors. Their word once passed, it was received by the negroes as an irrevocable decree. On the faith of it (I cannot shrink from the avowal) they worked under a delusion, which, although never designed, was, in its bitter effects, not less fatal to their confidence in that high character established for their masters, and which can only be restored by a discharge of the debt contracted on their written authority. Not sixteen, but seventy-three slaves would now have been emancipated, fifty-seven of whom are at this moment still subject to the evils of bondage, and who would, I am confident, have been all voluntary labourers in the company's service, had faith been kept with them, and the system of superintendence remained unchanged. I am entirely ignorant of the cause of their heart-rending disappointment, or whether the children (many of them are now from twelve to fourteen years old) have been either educated, or made acquainted with their freedom. But I must, in the latter case, candidly state the difficulty of the board, as to the proper moment for promulgating this happy intelligence, unless the parents likewise were to enjoy the same blessing. All the best affections of their nature might otherwise have been outraged; and it was on this account that I considered it, not only prudent, but humane, to leave the infant part of this establishment, nearly six years younger than at present, in ignorance of the blessing they were then incompetent to appreciate, but of which they might have availed themselves in a manner highly prejudicial to the comfort and authority of their less fortunate parents." I will now just allude to a subject which I brought before the directors about three years ago. I then recommended the directors to take precisely the same line of conduct which I recommend to them now. In a private letter, which I addressed to the directors, I recommended the emancipation of the negroes at that time, and stated my unwillingness, and that I should not, unless they assented to the proposition, to receive any future dividends from the company. And I explain this, that I may not appear to be at all inconsistent; because, although I have not received those dividends, it would appear as though my agents had done so for me. My agents, Messrs. Foster and Braithwaite have received them, (a laugh,) gentlemen before they laugh, will just understand that I have not received them for my own benefit, but that I have paid over the amount received for those dividends to the Anti-Slavery Society. Now I think I have shown clearly, that certain promises which were made through the officers of the company have not been fulfilled. The expectation was certainly held out, that ten at least of the adults belonging to the company should be released every year, and Colonel Skerrett says, that if that had been carried into effect, there would have been seventy-three persons at this moment enjoying their freedom. I think I have, as a shareholder, a right to complain that the directors have not carried out their own views; but, if they had, I should not feel, under present circumstances satisfied with that. If I were to read some other things, it would be seen by the same evidence, (I believe given to the company themselves,) that flogging exists at the mines in Brazil.

A PROPRIETOR.—Not of females, I think.

Mr. THOMAS.—Not of females, but of males; and I think from the same testimony it appears, that 100 lashes is the highest amount.

A PROPRIETOR.—He states that five-and-twenty lashes given in the army, are equal in severity to 100 in Brazil.

Mr. THOMAS.—This is from the same letter that I have quoted before. "Whenever it was necessary to punish, they were always sent to hospital after it, where they remained in general but a few minutes; the number of lashes never exceeded 100, nor did they ever amount to that, but in two or three instances, all the time I was there. The cat-o'-nine-tails is much the same as that used in the army, but not so severe."

A PROPRIETOR.—You remember, Sir, the medical man stated, that 100 lashes given there was not so severe a punishment as five-and-twenty given here.

Mr. THOMAS.—Very well, I have no objection to admit that it is so stated. But I would also state, for the information of the proprietors, that the directors have only received one account of the punishments inflicted upon negroes. I understand that to be a declaration they have made to a friend of mine.

Mr. GIBSON.—It is a mistake.

Mr. TUCKETT (to Mr. Gibson).—You remember that I asked for a statement, and the reply was, it had not been received for many years.

A PROPRIETOR.—If the gentleman is going for any specific point, he had better state it. If he only means to say that certain recommendations have not been attended to, I dare say the directors will be happy to investigate that point; but, if he means to come to the general subject of emancipation, he would do well to state it; because, whether flogging has been excessive in one instance, or the terms have not been properly observed in another, becomes quite another consideration. Let him go upon the broad question, whether emancipation is to be carried out or not; that is the point submitted for our discussion this day. It is not whether the directors, in the flogging which has been inflicted, have or have not exceeded a certain point of severity. Let us only know the point he is drawing our attention to.

Mr. THOMAS.—I am going to refer to that point, but I think it is of great importance to state to the meeting, that the resolutions formed many years ago have been rather relaxed than carried out.

A PROPRIETOR.—Then ask the directors to strengthen them.

Mr. THOMAS.—My argument tends to show that there is no safety in any scheme but entire emancipation; because, if you are satisfied to-day that the directors will do what is right, and they go next year from their resolution formed to-day, what reliance can you place upon the resolutions of the directors? I think you will see clearly from the letters of Colonel Skerrett and Mr. Bayly, that the alteration of



the system has produced disobedient conduct in the negro population, and that so long as those ameliorations were carried on, the behaviour of the people was better. Now, I mean to say, that as a matter of sound policy, it is better for us to emancipate the negroes than to keep them in a state of bondage; because you have proof from your own accounts, that they actually behaved better in a state of freedom, and were willing to work for less wages than they could get from other persons. What can more strongly show that it is consistent with sound policy to emancipate these negroes? Now, we have proof, we have strong proof, that it would be the wisest course to grant the whole boon. In order to show that, I will bring forward the case of Antigua. Antigua is the only island, which I am aware of, that did not adopt the apprenticeship, or the gradual system of emancipation, but proceeded immediately to grant emancipation. What has been the effect of that? Why, that the whole island has doubled the amount of produce since the act of emancipation, and the planters themselves declare that the whole of the compensation granted to them by the act of emancipation, was clear profit. Why can we not suppose, that, if we adopted the same liberal policy, it would be attended with the same results? I say it would.

A PROPRIETOR.—Different kingdoms, sir.

Mr. THOMAS.—That makes no difference. A certain line of conduct will produce certain consequences. Then, when we come to consider that this country, England, has condemned the system; that it is contrary to the laws of this country to hold slave property, why should we, sitting in this room, be in a different position from our fellow countrymen? Why should we avail ourselves of the situation in which we are placed, to refuse to do that which our own country has done as a country?

A PROPRIETOR.—We are subject to the government.

Mr. THOMAS.—We have a right to deal with our own property, though we are subject to the government. The minister of Brazil has said that nothing stands in the way of emancipation, that the laws afford a facility for it, rather than otherwise, so that argument will not avail. The laws of England consider the holding of slave property as felony.\* Why should we put ourselves in such a position? I do not conceive that a number of gentlemen assembled as English merchants, which I suppose most of the gentlemen present are, would like to put themselves in a different position from all their countrymen, simply because they have it in their power to do so; but that they would be regulated and governed in their public conduct by the same rule as those who live under English laws and English government. But now I come to another and more important reason, namely, that, in a religious point of view, we are called upon to grant emancipation. We do—I suppose we all do, profess christianity. If so, we have no right to hold a fellow creature in bondage, whatever we may consider expedient. There is an inalienable right to freedom in every man. The Creator has created all men alike. He has created all nations of one blood, and therefore they have all equal rights in his sight. And we are commanded to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God; if we do so, we certainly cannot be owners of slave property. If we would do justly, we must put them in the same position as ourselves. I am sure no man would think, if I had the power to take the chairman this morning, and convert him into a slave, and should exercise that power, that that would be doing justly. And I don't know that we have any greater right to do so in the case of these poor creatures. It is a mere exercise of power, which does not only a deal of mischief to those who are under its influence, but to those who exercise it. I believe the effect upon those who exercise it, is quite as bad as upon those who are subject to it, and that it does in a great measure harden their feelings. If you are not desirous to act upon the principle, "do unto others, as you would be done by," then I don't know that I have any hope of your voting for this resolution; but I do submit that you ought to do so as a company of professing christians. Having now, as I think, very fairly brought the matter before the present meeting, I conceive that the responsibility of holding these people in bondage will rest with those who support the system. I believe that there is a certain amount of guilt attached to our maintaining the position which we occupy. I think we have too long suffered this question to remain where it is, and that we ought, as Englishmen, to take some steps upon it.

The CHAIRMAN.—There is one point, gentlemen, upon which I wish to make a remark, and I will not take up more than a minute of your time. Colonel Skerrett received his orders from the board. Now he was sent out in 1833. He tried the system in 1834, and came away in 1835; consequently he could not have been long enough there to know the effect of it. The effect we learned from Mr. Duval, and upon that ground we proceeded. We are told we have been going back. We did not withdraw our order till the system had been tried, and was proved to have failed; nor have we ever withdrawn it. With regard to flogging, we sent out some time ago unconditional orders to put a stop to it entirely.

Mr. GOLDSMID.—I should not trouble this meeting—

Mr. R. FRY.—I think in common courtesy, the Chairman should allow the resolution to be seconded.

Mr. GOLDSMID.—I beg your pardon, I am sure.

Mr. E. HARRIS.—I beg to second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN.—The amendment which has been proposed is as follows:—"That measures be taken immediately to emancipate the slaves held by this company, and to secure to them their future freedom."

Mr. GOLDSMID.—Before that amendment is put, I only beg leave to say a very few words on this occasion. Having taken a very active part in the formation of this company, I beg leave just to say a few words. There is no person who entertains more respect than I do for the humane feeling which dictated this. There is no person who respects that body of men, (the Society of Friends) more sincerely and affectionately than I do. I have been connected with them from the earliest period of my life. I was connected with them in various committees on a variety of subjects, and followed their steps as much as I could, both upon the subject of prison discipline, and the punishment of death; and therefore I blindly (almost blindly) would have been ready, if I were not placed in the situation in which I now stand, to have admitted their proposition. But I have been a director ever since the formation of the company; and, holding that position, I must say that I widely differ from them on this subject. When

\* By the Consolidated Slave-trade Act of 1824, the purchase, or any participation in the purchase of a slave, by a British subject, is felony.

this company was originally formed, I considered that it would not be wise to employ slaves, and the consequence was, that I was doubtful whether it ought to be entertained. But I consulted an excellent friend of mine, Mr. Joseph Fry, and I am sure I cannot mention that name without mentioning in connexion with it that most amiable woman, Mrs. Fry, to say that all the acts of her life were devoted to philanthropy and kindness; and he never would have joined in an undertaking of this kind—no money could have tempted him—if it had not been for the performance of a great work. Great moral good was performed, by setting an example of good conduct in the management of slaves in the midst of a large population. Now, how was that accomplished? Not by violence, but by an attempt to improve their condition. Now that condition could only be improved by example. Consider how widely different this is from colonies where the whole body are to be emancipated. Consider that here is a million and a half of slaves; and we have a handful; and that it is only by kind treatment that we have induced those around us to follow that example. Can it be doubted, after the statements made by various persons unconnected with the company, and after the statements used by the gentleman, who tells you frankly that he has nothing to support the proposition but his humane feelings, except the testimony of Colonel Skerrett and Mr. Bayly—the greater portion of that tells, I am sure they themselves would say, tells in favour of us?—If there have been any aberrations from the right course, it has been only in consequence of a difference of opinion having existed between Colonel Skerrett and his successor. The whole question turns upon that. You have one of two courses to pursue. Either to emancipate your slaves, and, in consequence, to create dissatisfaction and disgust in the minds of those around—perhaps the probability is, that they would be either kidnapped or absorbed into the slave population; or to take them away altogether. Do not you destroy the moral effect which we anticipated at the commencement of this establishment, by taking away the example? What hope can there be ever after, of inducing the Brazilians to follow the bright example which this company may set? What have they to follow but the example which you set? As far as I am personally concerned, it is of very little consequence what is done; I have only 75 shares, which is about £400; and I would give ten times that amount, if we could but induce the Brazilians, which is the great object and desire that I believe we all have, to emancipate their slaves. Their emancipation is to be expected and hoped for, by the slow process of convincing them that they should do good to their fellow men, by the example which we shall set them, not by the untimely and hurried efforts made by the friends of humanity to deprive them of that example. Under these circumstances, I am quite sure that the humane gentlemen themselves will see the wisdom of withdrawing their amendment, in order to make it a unanimous feeling that we should leave the directors themselves, their minds, their own intentions, their hearts devoted to ameliorating the condition of the slaves. If they were to see what unfortunately they have not seen of late years, that the condition of the older blacks would be improved by emancipation, depend upon it the directors would emancipate them. But, as to the children, what better could you expect than that, at the age of twenty-one, they have pledged themselves that they shall be emancipated? How could they better instruct and teach those around them, than by the example of good conduct set by these children? I am quite sure that the directors have done the utmost in their power, that, if there have been these changes, it has not been their fault; and that they were not stimulated by the inducements of their friends here to urge them forward, but by their own feelings. Under these circumstances I do hope that my friends—I am sure they will allow me to call them so—no man feels more disposed to call them so, or to lend himself to their good works; but I trust that they will give their support and confidence to the directors, and, instead of finding fault with what we have done, strengthen our hands. The gentleman has stated that the government of Brazil gives every facility to emancipation. I think we have a letter in our possession, which would show very distinctly that the Brazilian government have not moved either one way or the other, that they have not at all interfered with emancipation, and have expressed no opinion; but it must be for the gentlemen themselves to determine, whether they can desire to see the emancipation of two or three hundred men in the midst of a slave population of a million and a half. There is one important circumstance mentioned in the report, which is, that we have so kindly treated our slaves, that a number of persons have come to us in order to be taken into our service. Under these circumstances, I hope and trust that the gentleman will withdraw his motion.

Mr. R. FRY.—Considering the long report which has been read, I trust I may be allowed to address you for five minutes. I was one of those who signed and circulated the address. My name is Richard Fry—I live in Bristol. I mention that to show that I am not the gentleman who has been alluded to by Isaac L. Goldsmid. I respond, I am sure, to the name he gave me, a friend; and I wish to return it to him. I wish to call every man my brother, and my friend. I wish to say something in explanation of the introductory part of the address, which states that, when we became proprietors, we did not know that there were slaves employed by this company. When I first became a proprietor of these mines, I was of the age of twenty-one, and was engaged in a mercantile counting-house in this city. One morning by post I received a transfer of the shares; my kind father made me a present of certain shares in this company. I knew nothing about the company, about mines in Brazil, or mines in Cornwall: whether they were worked by blacks or whites; and therefore, gentlemen, for myself, what I state is perfectly true. I did not know that these mines were worked by slaves. I trust, gentlemen, that you will believe me for myself.

A PROPRIETOR.—Ten years ago?

Mr. FRY.—I think it is twelve. (Here considerable impatience was manifested by several proprietors). Be patient, gentlemen, we gave the chairman a very fair hearing. I must throw myself upon the chairman.

A PROPRIETOR.—I hope the gentleman will consider the time of the meeting, and compress his observations.

Mr. FRY.—So I will; but we are assembled for an important purpose. I wish to do my duty, and to throw the responsibility off my own shoulders, and on yours. I hope you will take it. Mr. Goldsmid has spoken of the propriety of setting a good example, by treating our slaves well. I fully agree with him, that, inasmuch as you treat your slaves well, you set a good example; but, if we do to them as we should be done by, should we not set them a much better example? (A voice, "No, you would do



harm.") No, gentlemen, we should be then doing to others as we would be done by. (Cries of "question.")

The CHAIRMAN.—We will not keep you more than a few minutes.

Mr. FRY.—If I did, I maintain that I have a full right to keep you as long as I please.

A PROPRIETOR.—We cannot stay any longer; you positively said that you would only detain us five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN.—It really is, gentlemen, a matter of such vital importance that this question should be set at rest to-day, and with, as I believe it will be, an overwhelming majority, that I should be sorry indeed if you were to go away; because I should be sorry to see a small majority. I think it would be tantamount to a disapproval of our conduct.

Mr. FRY.—If you will have the goodness to listen to me, I will keep my promise. A gentleman spoke of kidnapping; if you observe the words of the resolution, we provide for that by saying, "secure to the slaves their future freedom." With regard to the policy of the thing, I believe it is always the best policy to do that which is right, to do to others as we would be done by, and that will secure to us prosperity. I hope that every gentleman present will lay it to his conscience, before he gives his vote, whether he believes that he is acting up to the precepts of the New Testament.

A PROPRIETOR.—You must submit yourself to the powers that be.

Mr. FRY.—Yes; your own power is to liberate these slaves. I am much obliged to you for listening to me.

A PROPRIETOR.—Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question? Has he, or has he not, sold any of his shares, since he became a proprietor?

Mr. FRY.—I have not.

A PROPRIETOR.—Why not?

Mr. FRY.—Because I will keep them, to endeavour to use any power or influence which I have to set at liberty the slaves. That is the motive by which we are all influenced. I have held these shares when I could have sold them at a considerable profit, but I kept them for that purpose.

Mr. GRAY.—The gentleman who proposed the motion, said, that he considered his statement was confirmed. He copiously referred to a publication which I never saw before. In some parts of that quotation he did great justice to Colonel Skerrett. I should certainly not object to their dealing as they please with other people's property. It is quite clear, as Mr. Goldsmid has said, that, if you were to emancipate the slaves, they would only fall into worse hands, and that they would exchange a state of comparative happiness for one of great hardship. I was really surprised at the statement made by a gentleman to the meeting, that he was perfectly ignorant of the mode of carrying on mining in Brazil. I did suppose, that the Society of Friends, who were very anxious to acquire knowledge, must have read some history of Brazil, and, if so, must have come to the conviction that the laborious part of the work was carried on by slaves. Abstractedly, I am as great an enemy to slavery as any man can be; but I think it is the bounden duty of every person, before he votes for the emancipation, to consider, whether it will be a benefit to those who are emancipated. I quite agree that the course recommended by the gentleman is dictated by the humanest feelings; but, if their advice is adopted, it must end in the complete destruction of the property. Mr. Macaulay, the other night, stated, with much force and propriety, that it was the bounden duty of this country to suppress slavery in its own dominions; but that we have no right to interfere with the internal slavery of other countries. If the society for the suppression of slavery would subscribe to buy the property, I am quite ready to give up my share to them. There is no analogy between the case of Antigua and Brazil. The gentleman said, that cultivation in Antigua had gone on since the emancipation much more successfully than it did before; but, in the first instance, they were compensated for the value of their slaves. I say, compensate me, and take the slaves.

A PROPRIETOR (to Mr. Thomas).—You have made strong allusions to those slaves who have been emancipated by the instructions of the directors. Pray, sir, have you any account how many of those men that were liberated turned out well, and how many badly? Because it is very likely, and very possible, that the whole ten per year that were emancipated (and as you say there would by this time be 70) would be bad. I think it is desirable to know whether the older slaves were entirely good after they were emancipated. There can be no doubt as to the propriety of emancipating children, when they arrive at the age of twenty-one.

Mr. THOMAS.—I think I may be allowed to say a few words in reply.

A PROPRIETOR.—I only ask, have you any statement of that kind?

The CHAIRMAN (to Mr. Thomas).—Have you any such statement?

A PROPRIETOR.—From what I can understand, they have generally turned out badly.

Mr. THOMAS.—Why? Simply because of disappointment; their just expectations not being realised, and that which was promised being withheld, that was the reason. Colonel Skerrett and Mr. Bayly both say so distinctly. (Cries of chair, chair.) I would just say in reply to the gentlemen who are opposed to us, that honesty is the best policy, and that we cannot without being dishonest retain these people in slavery against their will. (Cries of "question"). The Chairman here intimated that, as Mr. Thomas was the mover of an amendment, he had no right of reply.

The CHAIRMAN then put the amendment and called upon those who were in favour of it to signify the same by holding up their hands.

Seven hands only were held up for the amendment. The Chairman then put the original resolution, which was carried.

Castle Wisbech, April 30th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

Having laid before the church over which I preside (the independent church of this town) the circular of the 10th of October last, issued by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,—the members present (and we had a full meeting) unanimously came to the following resolution:—

"That this church, deeply convinced of the exceeding sinfulness of slavery and the slave-trade, and having learned from unquestionable authority, that many members of professedly christian churches, of different denominations, in the United States of America, are both slave-dealers and slave-holders, hereby avows its solemn determination not to hold communion with such persons, or with any who are known to be their abettors or apologists. Signed on behalf of the church,

J. H. TREDDGOLD, Esq.

WILLIAM HOLMES, Pastor.

## THOUGHTS ON THE SUGAR QUESTION.

(From a Correspondent.)

A QUESTION has arisen on which the friends of the slave in England are at present divided in sentiment. We, of course, allude to the measure lately proposed, by which foreign sugar, including that which is slave-grown, would have been admitted at a lower rate of duty than that which is now imposed. It is evident that the opinions to which we have referred cannot both be correct; and believing as we do, that a large proportion of those who differ from us on this question are as honestly desirous as ourselves of knowing and embracing the truth, we are disposed of presenting those arguments which we deem to be conclusive against the introduction of slave-grown sugar for consumption in this country.

There are at present about fourteen million cwts. of foreign sugar raised in the eastern and western hemispheres, exclusive of that raised in our own possessions, as stated in the *Companion to the British Almanack for 1841*; and, according to the same authority, less than one million of this amount is shipped from Java, the only place named among those from which this sugar is exported, where slave labour is not employed in its cultivation; and Java is not free from suspicion on this point, as slavery is known to exist in that island. Brazil and the Spanish West India islands export nearly seven million cwts., or about one-half of the whole quantity produced. We extract this information from an article in which the admission of foreign sugar is strongly advocated. We think it right to observe, however, that we believe an amount of sugar by no means inconsiderable, and which can be sold at a low price, is produced in the Philippine islands by free labour, and exported from Manila. The quantity is not, however, so great as materially to affect the argument we intend to bring forward.

Foreign sugar, under existing regulations is virtually prohibited for home consumption, and may at present be purchased (independently of duty) at about one-third less than sugar from our own colonies. The consequence of allowing foreign sugar to be consumed in this country at a duty of 12s. above that charged on the same article from our colonial possessions, would naturally be to occasion a difference in the price of the two descriptions of sugar of the same quality, to the precise extent of the extra duty charged on foreign sugar. We consider it more than probable, that in the event of this circumstance occurring, which we are now contemplating, there would be a large introduction of Brazilian and Cuban sugar, at a price remunerative to the planters of those countries. It must also be supposed that the opening of a new market in England to Brazil and Cuba, and this a market which consumes more than one-fourth part of the sugar now exported from all the countries in which it is produced, and in which it bears a higher price than in any other, would have the effect of raising the value of this article in other markets, thus procuring for the Brazilian and Cuban sugar planter an immense pecuniary benefit. It will not, we think, be denied, that the increased advantages thus held out to the cultivators of sugar raised by slaves would have a decided tendency to stimulate an increased production, while this can only be obtained by increased severity of labour, or the importation of new slaves from Africa. It cannot be denied that we should thus be giving a decided encouragement to slavery, as truly as every individual customer of the shopkeeper or the merchant contributes to his success, and especially those who are among his largest and safest customers.

Let us now consider what is the character of slavery in Brazil and Cuba, and what are its guilty accompaniments. In these, as in other slave countries, the unhappy bondsman is compelled to work without recompense, scourged to labour as the beast of the field, kept in a state of the deepest mental and moral degradation, and, in a multitude of instances, prematurely destroyed by his bitter sufferings and excessive toil. It is well known, too, that among all the various kinds of labour in which slaves are employed, that of the cultivation and manufacture of sugar is one of the most deadly. The great mortality among the slaves in Brazil has been recently acknowledged in the most forcible manner, in some passages derived from authorities in that country, which have lately appeared in the pages of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

The excess of deaths over births, among slaves on many of the sugar estates in Cuba, is estimated at 10 per cent. yearly.

In connexion with the frightful character of slavery in Brazil and Cuba, it is well known that the slave-trade in these countries exists to an immense extent; the former receiving at least 60,000, and the latter 40,000, yearly, of the stolen children of Africa, as stated by Sir. T. F. Buxton. Thus is a large portion of two continents rendered miserable by that guilty system, which holds its accursed sway in these lands.

We conclude, then, that, as we are not at liberty, as christians, to countenance, but, on the other hand, are bound to discountenance, to the utmost extent of our power, every evil, and especially those which are of the most fearful magnitude, we must protest against the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market for home consumption, and the encouragement which would thereby be given to a system, which robs man, not only of his just wages, but of his own person, and of conjugal and parental rights; which inflicts an immense amount of unmerited suffering upon its victims; degrades the intellect and the morals of the oppressors and the oppressed, and consigns multitudes of human beings to a premature grave.

So long as it remains true that we must not do evil that good may come, and as we would avoid that condemnation which is



justly due to those who would thus act, we are bound, as christians, to protest against the British people becoming thus involved in encouraging the tremendous evils of Brazilian and Cuban slavery.

We will now proceed to notice some of the reasons which have been urged in favour of the admission of foreign, including slave-grown sugar.

It is said that such a measure would have the effect of lessening the price of sugar, a circumstance of no small importance to the poor, especially as it might promote the substitution of tea and coffee for pernicious stimulating beverages. We confidently anticipate, however, that this result will be obtained without resorting to such a step; and, at the moment when we write this, foreign sugar, with the additional duty of 12s. per cwt., will not be found to be  $\frac{1}{2}$  per lb. cheaper than that from our own colonies.

It is well known that, during the present year, we can calculate on receiving 1,200,000 cwt. of East Indian sugar, being about one-third of our usual consumption, and a vast increase as compared with past years, while a larger quantity than that of last year is confidently anticipated from our West Indian possessions. It is highly probable that both these sources of supply will continue to increase, and that thus the price of sugar from our colonies will shortly be reduced to as low, or below that which it bore very few years since, when it ranged generally from 25s. to 35s. per cwt. In confirmation of this opinion, we quote a remarkable anticipation from the writings of the late James Cropper: "Besides all these permanent advantages, there would probably be a large temporary profit from a reduction in the cultivation of sugar, the growth of which might, for a few years, be brought below the increased consumption of the country, the present growth being 30,000 to 40,000 tons per annum above it. If the growth should be reduced only 20,000 tons, or to about 18,000 tons per annum, an advance of 6s. per cwt., would be very probable, and would add to the profits of the planters £1,080,000 per annum. To give such a temporary advance of price, in order to introduce the cultivation by free-labour in the West, and improve and extend it in the East, would very soon be repaid by more abundant supplies and low prices." Should we be disappointed in our expectation of this increased supply, we shall still feel satisfied that we have done right in resisting the introduction of slave-grown sugar, because we dare not say, let us do evil that good may come.

It has been alleged that the proposed measure would advance our commercial, manufacturing, and shipping interest, by leading to an extension of our trade with Brazil. Let it, however, be remembered, that our West Indian colonies and Mauritius, with a population of less than a million, consume a larger amount of articles of British export than Brazil, with four or five millions. If our exports to Brazil have increased, so have those to our own sugar colonies, which now take nearly four millions in value of our manufactures, and the East Indies almost five millions. When we reflect, however, on the comparative wants of freemen and slaves, the latter being restricted to a partial supply only of the most absolute necessities for health, and some regard to decency, and on the growth of free as compared with slave countries, in wealth and population, we are at no loss to which we ought to give a decided preference in a commercial point of view. Such arguments as those which we are now combatting were put forth by the old apologists and defenders of the slave-trade and slavery; and in our opinion should not, for one moment, if they were true, divert us from the path of duty. We must not do or encourage evil, whatever may be the inducements or temptations which are held out.

It has been said, that free-trade, by promoting a competition between free and slave-labour, would eventually destroy the latter, as being the dearest. Whatever may be the alleged grounds of such an opinion, it must be evident that the duration, if not the result of such a race, may be greatly affected by circumstances over which we have no control among which we may mention that of war occurring in British India, continued gross mismanagement in that country, or unfavourable seasons peculiarly affecting our own possessions. We must, however, bear in mind, that, at present, there is a moral certainty that slavery, with all its barbarities, would be promoted by the proposed measure. It may be that, among those who advocate this step, there are those who think that, if they were now slaves in Brazil, they would be willing for themselves, their wives, their children, their whole circle of friends, to consent to bear an increased amount of lashes, of suffering, and of toil, and to have the period of existence still more abridged than it now is in these fields of human sacrifice. But, if there be those who would thus act, we submit that neither they, or any man, nor body of men, are at liberty thus to increase the horrors of an intolerable bondage, and to sanction a larger amount of murder, for the sake of any contingent or possible future advantage.

We have been told, that a competition between free and slave-labour will lead to a better system of cultivation in our own colonies, and that on this account the proposed measure should be supported. We reply, that the case appears to us to resemble that of a person frequenting a shop where stolen goods are known to be sold, in order to add to the energy of the honest tradesman in the vicinity. We cannot, however, consent to countenance and promote evil for the accomplishment of such an object.

The strongest argument which we have heard in favour of the government measure, is derived from the fact that a considerable quantity of slave-grown sugar has been exported to our own West India colonies, and has thus, by supplying their

wants to a certain extent, enabled them to send us a larger amount of their own production. We must protest in the strongest manner against such a proceeding, of which we have only recently been informed, and would advise the different West Indian legislatures, at once to prohibit a conduct, which, if persevered in, is peculiarly calculated to lead to an opening for foreign sugars into the British market, with all its attendant disadvantage to themselves and frightful evils to humanity. At the same time, the abuse to which we are referring is not to be compared with the extent of mischief which would arise from opening to Cuba and Brazil the rich market of Great Britain and Ireland, with a population of thirty millions. We cannot, therefore, while we deprecate the admission of slave-grown sugars into our colonies, admit that this is a sufficient reason for doing another, and a much greater evil.

It is said that we consume American cotton, and many other articles produced by slave-labour. This is true in many instances, and the more our attention is fixed upon this circumstance, the more we must deplore it; and earnest is our hope that we shall soon be supplied from other and legitimate sources, should America persevere in her present guilty conduct. We should be disposed to make large sacrifices to effect such an object. We may, however, indulge the expectation, that should America and other slave-holding countries see the band of abolitionists in this land once more unanimous and determined in reference to the refusal to countenance the admission of slave-labour sugar, they might receive instruction from the fact, and prepare for the termination of a system which may lead to their losing a market which is indispensable for the sale of their cottons. However this may be, we cannot commit a new evil for the sake of any good, or for the purpose of a guilty consistency.

We are told that we act inconsistently with the principle that free labour is cheaper than slave labour, if we refuse to sanction the introduction of sugar produced by slaves, at a protecting duty of 50 per cent; and that such a conduct on the part of abolitionists is calculated to produce an unfavourable and incorrect opinion of the consequences of freedom in slave-holding countries. Our reply to these remarks is, that, great as we believe to be the superiority of voluntary and paid labour over that which is unrequited and coerced, there are circumstances which, at the present moment, admit of the introduction of slave sugars into our market, even subject to the proposed differential duty. We allude especially to the fact, that the large tracts of rich soil in Cuba enable the planters of that island to produce the same quantity of sugar with less than one-third of the amount of labour which is required in a large portion of our colonies, a circumstance which is more than sufficient to counterbalance a decided inferiority in the slave, as compared with a free system, and to allow a large profit on the importation of sugar from that island on the terms proposed. We must also bear in mind, that Brazil, and the Spanish islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico have, together, a slave population of not less than three times the extent of that of the free labourers in our West India colonies, including the Mauritius. With a knowledge of these circumstances, we must deprecate a measure which would allow the sugar of Brazil and Cuba to be consumed in England, and by which we should commit the evil of encouraging all the crimes to which slavery is hourly giving birth in those lands, for the sake of maintaining a supposed consistency from which we feel that we do not really depart, or from any other consideration whatsoever.

It has been stated in substance by an eminent statesman, in his place in parliament, that we, as a people, do at present all that we can do to encourage slavery in the Brazils, by sending our manufactures to that market, and receiving their sugar in return, which we export in their raw state, or refined, to every part of the continent. If this statement be correct, on what account do the people of Brazil, and the merchants trading to that country, so earnestly desire to have the English home market opened to them? This is a manifest and gross fallacy, and has been already answered in speaking of the benefit which would arise to the countries named by the measure under consideration.

But we are further informed, that, if we will consent to receive the sugar of Brazil and Cuba, we may be able to make arrangements with those countries by which the slave trade may be abolished, and slavery itself gradually terminated. We would, however, ask, have we not already treaties of the most complete and binding character, if public faith were regarded with these powers, purchased in the case of that with Spain at the expense of £400,000 of British treasure? We cannot, with all the experience of the past, confide in so broken a reed as that of engagements, however solemn, with a nation of slave-holders who, accustomed to the daily violation of all the laws of humanity, morality, and religion, in their conduct to their bondsmen, do not shrink from the most unblushing abandonment of public faith. It has lately required all the zeal, the wisdom, and the perseverance of the abolitionists of the northern portion of the United States to prevent slaves illegally imported from Africa being returned by the government of that republic as criminals to Cuba, the authorities of which are infamous for their encouragement of the African slave-trade, to be there immolated by the dealers in human flesh. We must not commit the evil of consenting to be partakers with thieves, in order to convert them to honest habits. We must not do this evil that good may come.

Finally, we are bound, in consistency, to discountenance to the utmost of our power a system, to suppress which England expends £600,000 annually, and sacrifices the lives of many of her



seamen, on the pestilential coast of Africa, and which is utterly opposed to the feelings of a people, who have made immense sacrifices in the cause of freedom—sacrifices, however, which have been repaid a hundred fold, by the advantages which they have procured for a long and deeply oppressed portion of our fellow subjects. The example thus given, and the glorious results of freedom, which mark its earliest infancy, have cheered the abolitionists of every land, and shaken the wicked system of slavery to its foundation. Let us be firm, consistent, and united; and very soon shall the day dawn, in which the fetters shall be riven from every slave, and free trade, combined with free labour, shall extend its blessings to every portion of the habitable globe,

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. Tylor (whose name in our last was mis-spelt *Tyler*) informs us that he wrote to us "some weeks ago," desiring to have the concluding sentence of his letter struck out of it. We are sorry not to have effected his wish; but we really cannot undertake literary labour of this sort. He should have sent us a corrected copy. He adds, "my sentiment with regard to any such production [any not grown by free labour] is, that we must simply do without it."

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, may be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

**Anti-Slavery Reporter.**

LONDON, JUNE 2ND.

HER Most Faithful Majesty, the Queen of Portugal, has been pleased to intimate her gracious acceptance of the address of the General Anti-slavery Convention in the following terms:—

*Portuguese Legation, London, 25th May, 1841.*

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose to you a letter addressed by his Excellency, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of her most faithful Majesty to Mr. Clarkson, the President of the Anti-slavery Convention, the answer which her most faithful Majesty is graciously pleased to give to the address sent to her, and which I had the honour to receive from the deputation of the said Convention, to be forwarded to my court. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

MONCORVO.

To the illustrious Thomas Clarkson, President of the Anti-slavery Convention held in London:—

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,—Having laid before her august Majesty the address which you as President of the Anti-slavery Convention, held in London, directed to her, entreating her royal co-operation in putting an end to the odious traffic in slaves; her Majesty has ordered me to signify through you, the interest which she takes in the enlightened zeal of so philanthropic an association in favour of an oppressed portion of the human race, and that I should expressly, in her royal name, that she will continue to co-operate effectually for the total extinction of that criminal traffic, which scourges humanity, and is so revolting to the benign heart of her Majesty.

Thus fulfilling the orders of my Sovereign, I avail myself of this occasion to offer you the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

May God preserve you,

RODRIGO DA FONSECA MAGALHAENS.

Office of State for Foreign Affairs, May 15th, 1841.

ACCORDING to the intimation in our last number, there appear in our first page of this day all the communications on the sugar question which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee have been requested to insert. The Committee have no wish, either to raise, or to prolong a controversy with their friends on this subject; but they feel it due, partly to themselves, but much more to their friends and to the cause at large, now to insert the following documents.

*Belfast, 14th May, 1841.*

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your esteemed circular, I have to inform you that our anti-slavery friends have forwarded a petition for presentation to the House of Commons, against reduction in the duty on sugar, the produce of those countries where slavery has not been abolished. I remain, dear sir, faithfully yours,

JAMES STANDFIELD.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

*Newcastle, 13th May, 1841.*

DEAR SIR,—I send you a copy of a resolution of our anti-slavery committee, forwarded by this post to eleven of our neighbouring M. P.'s.

In great haste, your's faithfully,

J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

MATTHEW FORSTER.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Newcastle Slave Emancipation Society, held on the 12th May, 1841;

Mr. JAMES FINLAY in the Chair.

Resolved—That this meeting views with the greatest anxiety and alarm, the proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to introduce the produce of slave-labour into this country on equal terms with that of freemen; as having, in the opinion of this com-

mittee, a tendency to perpetuate the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted the human family, and to contravene the great national testimony of Britain against slavery, in abolishing it throughout her vast dominions, and at the enormous cost of twenty millions of the public money.

That copies of the above resolution, signed by the chairman, be forwarded to the members of parliament for Newcastle, Gateshead, Tynemouth, South Shields, Sunderland, South Northumberland, and North Durham.

(Signed,)

JAMES FINLAY, Chairman.

To these documents, it may be permitted us to add—first, that, in some important places in which resolutions like those of Leeds and Liverpool have been passed *nemine contradicente*, there are abolitionists, neither few nor unimportant, who take a different view; and, secondly, that, in other places not less important, in which no public proceedings have been taken, the prevailing, if not the universal sentiment, is in accordance with that of the committee.

With a view to ascertain (so far as such an occasion might afford the means of doing so) what the sentiments of the anti-slavery friends generally may be on this matter, and to afford an opportunity of mutual explanation, advantage was taken of the close of the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends, at whose meeting-house in Houndsditch a public meeting was held on Saturday evening last. A free, and (we cannot doubt) a beneficial interchange of sentiments took place on this occasion. And, if it was not permitted us to observe any very considerable approach to unanimity on the particular point under discussion, it afforded us certainly the highest gratification to witness a universal spirit of devotedness to the ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE. A friendly feeling towards the committee was declared on all hands; and assurance given of uninterrupted and undiminished co-operation with them, in the various great and important objects to which their attention is directed.

THE committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have received from the committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, two important resolutions, which they publish below, for the information of their friends. It will be perceived that one of them refers to the calling of another Convention in 1842. This suggestion is felt by the committee to be so important, that their meeting on Friday, the 11th instant, has been made special, for the purpose of considering it; and we are instructed, on behalf of that body, to invite the assistance on that occasion of every member of the committee of an auxiliary society who may find it convenient to attend.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at the society's rooms; 128, Fulton Street, New York, April 16th, 1841, Joseph Sturge, of England, being present, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, that the committee fully recognise and adopt the principles upon which the General Anti-slavery Convention, held in London last year, was convened, and upon which it acted; that we feel greatly encouraged by the result of its meetings; that we would strongly recommend our transatlantic friends to summon a second Convention in London, at about the same period in 1842; and that, in the event of their doing so, we will use our best exertions to promote a good representation of American abolitionists on the occasion.

Resolved, that we deeply sympathise with the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society in their noble efforts for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade; that we assure them of our hearty co-operation in their well-devised plans and energetic labours; and that, so long as the slave question, in connexion with the promotion of the rights of the free people of colour, and nothing else, is admitted to a place in anti-slavery meetings, we may expect the co-operation of all true hearted abolitionists throughout the world, in carrying forward the great objects of our association to a glorious consummation.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, Chairman.

JOSHUA LEAVITT, Recording Secretary.

THE comic part of the Irish Emigrants' jaunt to Jamaica having been enacted, the tragic now begins. Patrick Cunningham, one of the emigrants by the *Robert Kerr*, is gone already, and the coroner's verdict says "that his death was accelerated by mental anguish, occasioned by the carelessness and inattention shewn him by his late employer, Mr. Harrison." But happier are the dead than the living, if the treatment of Honor Glyn, another Irish emigrant, be a sample of what they are to expect. We need scarcely press upon our readers the perusal of the details, which we have inserted elsewhere from the *Colonial Reformer*.

Severe drought, with some exceptions, is still heavily complained of in the West India papers.

WE are favoured with the following letter from M. Hippolyte de Saint Anthoine, on the prostitution of the Greek flag to the use of the slave-traders. The postscript, we should think, must be a corrupt version of the proposition for lowering the duties on foreign sugar.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

*Paris, May 20th, 1841.*

SIR,—I promised you some information in reference to the trade in slaves justly denounced for the reprobation of civilized nations by the *Malta Times*. It is unhappily too true that the Greek flag is still lent for the transport of slaves. I have to acquaint you, that a vessel laden with slaves has been seized by order of the Greek government, and conducted to Cephalonia; and that there all the slaves have been set at liberty. Since this capture, the Greek council of state, on the proposition of his



Excellency, the Prince of Mavrocordato, has promulgated a law forbidding to all Greek subjects the transport of slaves, under very severe penalties.

I received these details from M. Mavrocordato himself, who recollects the wishes which were expressed to him by your deputation in London and which are thus accomplished.

The statement was confirmed to me, at the last reception of the minister of foreign affairs, by his Excellency the envoy of Greece to London. M. Tricoupi, whom I consider as a true friend of the blacks. "To the Greek nation," said he to me, "who have groaned during so many ages in servitude, belongs less than to any other the odious privilege of making slaves."

I write this account in haste, not doubting that you will hear it with interest, after having powerfully contributed, by your generous endeavours, to the extinction of a traffic abhorred by all civilized nations.

Receive, I beg you, the assurance of my high regard.

Hippolyte de St. Anthoine.

P. S. A Brazilian informs me this moment, that your government has just signed a secret treaty with Brazil, permitting the introduction of slaves! Must we believe this news?

WE are enabled to insert to-day the very valuable and interesting report of the proceedings of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, which was read at the recent annual meeting at Exeter Hall.

A FULL and accurate report will be found in our columns this day of the proceedings at the late meeting of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. For the present our readers may peruse it. We shall have something to say upon it in our next, and upon the current tactics of the pro-slavery partizans.

WE have been furnished with the following extract of a letter from Mr. Candler, who is now in the United States, dated

Philadelphia, April 27th, 1841.

Our friend, Joseph Sturge, is doing a good work among Friends here. Some Friends of Philadelphia wished me to give a statement of the well working of freedom in Jamaica at the close of the year, and applied for the use of the large committee-room in Arch-street, the use of which was granted. A noble meeting we had—crowded to overflowing.

We copy the following from an American publication, the *Protectionist* :—

A report is in circulation that "Arnold Buffum called upon Thomas Robson, of Liverpool, and inquired of him whether Friends in England did not join the Anti-slavery Societies; to which he replied, yes; and thou knowest what became of those Friends." To this it is added, by way of comment, that the Friends in England who have joined the Anti-slavery Societies, have lost their religious character, and have generally been disowned from the Society of Friends. Will Friends in England, be so kind as to inform us, in language that cannot be misunderstood, whether it is so. For such is by many, believed to be the fact. Thomas Robson said no such thing to Arnold Buffum.

We answer simply, It is not so. No representation can be further from the truth.

IN relation to religious fellowship with slave-holders, we have the pleasure of inserting to-day a document of singular interest and importance, as emanating from so very large a portion of the rising ministry in this country. We are happy in giving place also to the resolutions adopted at the late meeting of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

WE direct attention to a communication, which the letter of Mr. Prater, secretary to the Texas Land and Emigration Company on *anti-slavery principles* (!) has brought us from the other side of the Atlantic. Mr. Prater scarcely anticipated, we suspect, such an antagonist.

#### THE IRISH EMIGRANTS TO JAMAICA.

[From the *Colonial Reformer*.]

CASE OF PATRICK CUNNINGHAM.

AN adjourned inquest was yesterday held at the Parochial Asylum in the House of Correction, on the body of Patrick Cunningham, one of the emigrants lately imported in the *Robert Kerr*, from Limerick.

The circumstances attending the death of the unfortunate man, are, as far as we have been able to learn them, as follows :—

It appears that the deceased, who was between 50, and 60 years of age, together with three other emigrants, had been engaged in the service of Mr. Harrison, on Ensom Pen, near this town—but his three companions, it is said threw up their engagements within a day or two after their being entered into. About the beginning of last month, the deceased was ordered to drive in a mule from the pastures, and, in endeavouring to do so, he received a severe kick from the animal. The injury he sustained incapacitated him from work, and rendered medical treatment necessary; upon which Mr. Harrison, to rid himself of a profitless servant, and to avoid the expense of a medical bill, thought proper to throw the *onus* on the shoulders of the public, by removing him to Spanish Town, and procuring his admission into the hospital for the sick and destitute poor. Here he remained without the comfort or consolation of a single relative or friend to cheer him under his sufferings—he had, not even the satisfaction of a single visit from the Master in whose service he had received the injury which had laid him on the bed of sickness. The rest is soon told—disappointed and heart broken, he was attacked with one of the malignant fevers of the country,

and his accounts with this world were speedily closed—he died on Thursday last.

The jury which sat on the inquest, we are happy to find, instituted a strict and thorough investigation into all the circumstances of the case, and at the conclusion of the inquiry gave in the following unanimous verdict :

"That the deceased, Patrick Cunningham, came to his death on the 1st day of April, in consequence of a kick accidentally received from a mule, and that it is the opinion of the jurors, that his death was accelerated by mental anguish occasioned by the carelessness and inattention shown him by his late employer, Mr. Harrison."

In addition to the foregoing, we learn that the jury gave in a very strong presentment of the circumstances under which the deceased had become an inmate of the Institution, and particularly adverted to the fact, of the deceased and his companions being employed in the "*lowlands*," in direct contravention of the provisions of the Immigration Act. Poor Patrick Cunningham then, is, as far as we know, the first victim of the Limerick Emigration speculation—but we fear that we shall soon have to report many others. His melancholy fate will shew our friends in Ireland the perfect propriety of the vigorous opposition which they exhibited to the kidnapping mission of the "*Robert Kerr*," and we trust will have the effect of cutting up that branch of the new slave-trade.

In addition to the above, it falls to our lot to lay before the public another sample of the treatment to which the poor deluded creatures who venture to our shores in the character of emigrants, become exposed. The miserable condition of the unfortunate Honor Glyn may be gathered from her touching reply to the significant threat of her employer, as to the probability of her being put in jail; "*I had rather be in jail for my three years, than at Compton Lodge!*" We trust that the entire case will be re-published in Galway, for the benefit of those who may still be disposed to place faith in the golden visions of wealth and happiness, presented to their imagination by the Jamaica syrens and their satellites. Honor Glyn, and her companions in misfortune were seduced by the promise of five or six shillings sterling a day for their labour, which at five days labour in each week would amount to £70 or £80 per annum. But the reality of the vision dwindles down to the paltry sum of £9 per annum, or about *eight pence* per day! Then her room full of rats, disturbing her rest and devouring her very clothes—and the allowance of cocoas as food—an article at which the veriest bog trotter in Ireland would turn up his nose with disgust! All these things taken together will, we should suppose, incline the Irish peasantry rather "to bear the ills they have, than fly to those they know not of!"

#### CASE OF HONOR GLYN.

PETTY SESSIONS, BLACK RIVER, Wednesday, March 24th, 1841.

Before John Gurley and J. B. Wells, Esqrs.

B. M. Senior, Esq. v. Honor Glyn, for breach of contract.

B. M. Senior sworn—Commenced the proceedings with a lengthened address to the sitting justices, on the evils likely to accrue if an *example* were not made in the present instance, to deter other immigrants, from breaking their contracts, now that so many were coming to the island. In the case before the court, he was prepared to produce documents to shew that the defendant was *doubly* bound, first in London, and then on her arrival in Jamaica; both documents were then produced.

The first, dated London, 16th December, 1840, with the mark of Honor Glyn attached, purported that she had engaged in London, with H. Hendricks to proceed to Compton Lodge, Jamaica, to serve B. M. Senior as a labourer—the document is *not* attested, neither does it appear that it was ever read to her before she attached her cross to it. The latter signed by B. M. Senior, with the cross of Honor Glyn attached, dated the 8th February, 1841, seems to have been entered into a few days after the arrival of the ship Marlborough at Black River, the purport of it being, that Honor Glyn is to serve B. M. Senior, at Compton Lodge, as a general servant, in doors, for three years, wages £9. sterling per annum, with allowances in the shape of provisions to the amount of about four shillings sterling per week, for a certain period; and to be furnished with a *comfortable room*, the expenses of outfit and passage from London to be repaid to Mr. Senior hereafter, by Honor Glyn.

Mr. Senior, in continuation, stated that a few days after her arrival at Compton Lodge, he heard Honor Glyn crying very much during the night, in her room. On Friday the 12th instant, she went away from Compton Lodge, without permission. On Sunday the 14th, she returned, and asked for her provisions for the ensuing week, (provisions were served to the immigrants in advance on Saturday each week.) "I refused to give her any, as it was Sunday. I told her to come on Monday, and I would give her *HER COCOAS*! I cautioned her as to her conduct, and told her if she did not behave herself that she would soon be in jail!! She replied, that she would *RATHER BE IN JAIL FOR HER THREE YEARS*, than remain at *Compton Lodge!!!* She then went away, and I have not seen her since.

Honor Glyn in defence, stated, that the room she was in at Compton Lodge was so full of rats, that her clothes were cut to pieces; she had no time to consider about the arrangement with Mr. Senior before she was called upon to sign it; was put to wash clothes the Monday after her arrival at Compton Lodge; the allowance of food stated in the agreement with Mr. Senior is not enough; comes from near Gort, county Galway—was engaged in



Ireland by Mr. Mahon, to come out to Jamaica with others; Mahon told us that we should get FIVE OR SIX SHILLINGS A DAY for picking coffee in Jamaica; we were told that they would not wear such clothes in Jamaica as we then had on, and that we had no occasion to take them with us. We arrived in London at night from Ireland, and were put on board the Marlborough the next morning; I can't read or write; the paper I put my cross to, on board the Marlborough, was not read to me. I was called down into the cabin, and desired to make my cross to it. On Friday, the 12th of March, I went to Black River to buy bread for myself and the other emigrants, as it was cheaper at Black River than in the vicinity of Compton Lodge, and we were hungry. Mrs. Fendyan and Catherine Glyn promised to attend to my work for me until I returned. I met Pat Navan near Black River, who took me to his house, and he went with me to Compton Lodge on Sunday; the reason why I quitted Compton Lodge again on Sunday was, because Mr. Senior refused to give me my allowance of provisions for the week following. I never washed clothes before I came out to Jamaica.

Decision postponed till it be ascertained whether the case comes under the provisions of the late immigration act, the woman not having been brought out at the public expense, but under the auspices of a private individual.

#### REPORT OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, FOR 1841.

In reviewing the events and transactions of the past year in connexion with the anti-slavery cause, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society find cause for devout gratitude to the Most High, as well for the measure of success with which they have been favoured, as for the general and steady progress of the principles they advocate; and they are encouraged to prosecute, with renewed diligence and zeal, that "work of faith and labour of love" in which they are engaged.

The First Anniversary of this Society took place at the close of a series of meetings of unexampled interest and importance in the history of benevolent enterprise, held in this great metropolis during the month of June last year. Philanthropists, not only from different parts of this country, but from distant portions of the world, responded to the call of this Committee, and assembled to promote the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, "by moral, religious, and other pacific means." Of that Convention it is not perhaps too much to say, that, for sound intelligence, accurate and varied information, and high Christian principle, it never was surpassed by any assemblage of men, in this or any other country. The results of its counsels and labours will soon be given to the world in a volume, which has been prepared for the press with unusual pains; and the committee regard it, not only as a faithful record of the proceedings of that distinguished body, but as a pledge that the gigantic evils which it illustrates and condemns shall, at no distant period, be utterly overthrown.

In anticipation of the appearance of this volume, the committee have printed, and very extensively circulated, the Minutes of the Convention, together with the valuable papers prepared and read during its proceedings, by the Rev. Messrs. Scates, Godwin, and Bevan; I. R. Madden, and Messrs. Adam and Sturge, on the following subjects:—The Objects of the Convention—the Essential Sinfulness of Slavery—the Influence of slavery on the character of the enslaver and the enslaved, and its opposition to the advancement of civilization, education, and christianity—Slavery in British India—Slavery and the slave-trade in Cuba—and the superiority of free over slave-labour. The committee cannot notice the last document without referring to its esteemed and lamented author, who, in the fulness of his mental and physical energies, and amidst the sincere regrets of the friends of this cause, has descended into the tomb. His life promised to be one of great usefulness and honour; his death forcibly reminds those who survive him of the admonition to "work while it is day."

Besides the pamphlets enumerated, the committee have published a volume on Slavery and the Internal Slave-trade in the United States of America, drawn up with the greatest care in answer to queries submitted to them, by the committee of the American Anti-slavery Society. This masterly work should have an extensive circulation among the friends of the oppressed in every part of the kingdom; and should be introduced by them into the circles in which they move, as eminently calculated to awaken sympathy, and to quicken exertion, in behalf of the suffering and the enslaved.

So far the committee have endeavoured to fulfil the literary duties confided to them by the Convention; and it now remains for their friends to give effect to their labours, by diffusing through all countries to which they may have access, or to which their influence may extend, the vast amount of information thus presented to the world.

The other duties devolved on the committee by that body they have endeavoured also to discharge, in the spirit in which they were confided to them. Among these, perhaps the most important were the transmission to the ministers of religion of this and other countries (as far as was practicable) of the important resolutions (passed without a dissentient voice) on withholding christian fellowship from slave-holders; and the presentation to the crowned heads of Europe, and to rulers generally to whom they might have access, through their respective ambassadors at the British Court, of the address voted to them.

With respect to the former, the committee are happy to record, that, in no instance have they received a communication questioning the entire accordance of them with christian duty, whilst the principles on which they are based have been affirmed by the independent decisions of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1840; the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and the Baptist Union, at their annual meetings. In addition to these important proceedings, no inconsiderable number of the Congregational and Baptist churches of this country have separately announced their determination to refuse communion with all who buy and sell their fellow-men, or use their neighbour's labour without wages. The number the committee trust will go on increasing, until there shall not be found, in a single section of the British churches, one who will extend to a slaveholder the right hand of christian fellowship.

In reference to the address to the heads of governments, the committee are happy to report, that in only three instances, have their representatives at the Court of St. James's declined to be the medium of communicating it to their Sovereigns. In all other instances the deputations were received in the most courteous manner, and by none more so than by their Excellencies the ambassadors representing the Emperor of Brazil, and the Queen of Portugal; and the committee cannot but entertain the hope, that the free exposition of their principles and feelings allowed by the distinguished individuals referred to, the unaffected interest which they appeared to take in the anti-slavery cause, and the undisguised expression of sympathy for the oppressed, may conduce to the great end the Convention had in view in preparing the address.

#### HOME OPERATIONS.

In reference to the Home Operations of the society, the committee call attention, in the first instance, to the series of meetings held after the Convention, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the purpose of diffusing information, and encouraging the formation of auxiliaries. Messrs. Birney and Stanton, representatives of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, having, on the invitation of the committee, kindly consented to remain in this country for a few months, they accomplished various tours through the country, accompanied by two members of the committee. It is impossible not to bear a high testimony to the efficient service thus rendered to the cause of the oppressed, especially in reference to the system of slavery existing in the United States, and the support which it derives from the various sections of the professedly christian churches there. The facts which these gentlemen gave to the public were most touching; and, whilst they deepened the conviction of the criminality of slave-holding and slave-dealing in every form, they excited deep commiseration for the slave, and prompted to more strenuous efforts than ever for his release. The meetings were mostly presided over by the chief magistrates of the towns in which they were held, and were attended by influential persons of different religious denominations, and all shades of political opinion.

In London, the attention of the committee has been directed to a variety of important matters, bearing upon the great objects the society have in view, and they trust they have not unsuccessfully exerted themselves in lessening the amount of evil, in those cases in which they have not been able absolutely to prevent it. Among the subjects which have engaged their consideration, the committee particularize the following:—1. The state of the laws and the administration of justice in the colonies. 2. The suspension of the monthly reports of the special magistrates of Jamaica, and the ultimate substitution of others, at intervals of six months, limited to few particulars, and subject to revision by order of the Governor; and, 3. The question of immigration, which has almost absorbed the attention of the colonists since emancipation. On all these matters, the committee have memorialized the government.

On the first point, they have the pleasure to report that several of the obnoxious laws passed by the Jamaica and Barbados legislatures have been either disallowed, or, by alterations recommended in them, rendered less oppressive. Yet the committee have reason to fear, that, with respect to Jamaica in particular, some objectionable matter has been inserted in the laws passed during the last session, which, if allowed by the government, will operate most injuriously on the people. Incessant vigilance on the part of the friends of the negroes is necessary, to defeat, if possible, the insidious measures of those whose main object appears to be to nullify the rights and privileges of the negroes; and to retain the means of coercing them.

The committee regret that, under the government of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the reports of the special magistrates have been suspended; and that the people and the legislature of this country have consequently been kept in official ignorance of the state of that important island. Two years have elapsed since the publication of any reports. It is only, therefore, by information derived from private sources that they have been able to repel the calumnies which have been heaped upon the peasantry of that colony.

In reference to the importation of labourers into the British colonies, the committee have felt it to be their duty, on the one hand to guard against the restriction of the labour market in them, and on the other to insist on adequate protection to those who might voluntarily resort thither for employment. Against the introduction of the natives of Hindostan into the colonies, however, the committee felt it necessary earnestly to protest; as also to use every exertion, during the last session of parliament, to oppose the measure of government for their further transportation to Mauritius. The appalling facts then laid before the country, in connexion with this new slave-traffic, have been amply confirmed by the papers recently presented to both houses of parliament; and the committee sincerely trust the government will not relax the restrictions which have been deemed necessary by the supreme authority in India. The committee have further felt it right to lay before the government their objections to the permission granted to the West Indians to import native Africans from Sierra Leone into the British colonies. They conceived that such a measure was likely to be attended with serious evils; and to afford a precedent to nations having slave colonies, as well as settlements on the African coast, whence they might derive a pretext for increasing the number of their slaves, under colour of free emigration. The committee are informed, however, that the strictest regulations will be enforced, in reference to the emigration of these people, and that contracts to labour, other than those made in the colonies to which they may resort, will be null and void. The committee have, in addition, issued a series of cautionary recommendations to their own countrymen on emigration to the West Indies, which they hope may prove useful in guiding them to a right decision on this important matter.

The committee can only briefly refer to the other memorials which they have presented to her Majesty's government during the past year. The enumeration of them, however, will show their great importance, viz.: on the inconsistency and impropriety of British functionaries holding slaves in countries where slavery is permitted, as in Brazil, Cuba, &c.; on the recognition of the independence of the slave-holding republic of Texas; on the condition of the Africans liberated by the Mixed Commission Courts in Cuba, Brazil, and Surinam, and the necessity of their immediate removal to the British colonies; on the occupation of Crab Island (a British possession) by Spanish slave-holders; against the introduction of slave-grown produce into the British market; and on officers of the army and navy holding appointments under companies which



hold slaves, and of acting as agents in the purchase of slaves for their various establishments.

In naming these documents, the committee feel called upon to acknowledge the courtesy of the first lord of the treasury, Lord Viscount Melbourne, and of the secretary of state for foreign affairs, Lord Viscount Palmerston; the latter of whom has, in many instances, afforded them, and the cause they represent, valuable aid.

#### FOREIGN OPERATIONS.

It will be remembered that, during the early part of the last year, a deputation from the society visited France and Holland. In the former instance, the object was to confer with the friends of the negro in Paris on the measures which had been proposed by a commission of inquiry on the abolition of slavery, and to urge upon them the necessity of legislating upon sound principles; in the latter, the intention was to awaken an anti-slavery feeling among the Dutch. The results of those visits were upon the whole extremely gratifying. The deputation consisted of Messrs. Alexander, Whitehorne, and Scoble. Subsequently, the secretary of the society, having occasion to visit the French capital, was honoured (in company with David Turnbull, Esq., now British consul at the Havana, and the Rev. Dr. Wright) with an interview by the King of the French, when they pressed on his Majesty the duty and necessity of abolishing slavery in every part of his empire.

The treasurer of the society, in addition to other important journeys he had previously undertaken to Hamburgh, Sweden, and Denmark, has, in conjunction with Mr. Wiffen, visited Spain; and it is believed he has laid a foundation for future anti-slavery efforts in that country.

The principal cities visited were Madrid, Valencia, and Barcelona; in the latter of which an anti-slavery society has been formed, and (it is expected) a periodical established, to diffuse information through all circles, and to draw the attention of public men to the subject. It is hoped that the question of emancipation will be agitated in the Cortes during its present sitting. As the bearer of the address to sovereigns from the Convention, Mr. Alexander had the honour of presenting it to Espartero, Duque de la Victoria, the head of the Spanish regency at that period, by whom it was courteously received. Our friends had also the opportunity of pleading the cause of the slave before several of the most distinguished men in Spain, and the committee indulge the hope that their labours have not been in vain.

In March last, their esteemed and devoted friend, Joseph Sturge, proceeded on an anti-slavery mission to the United States, where he is now labouring with his usual energy, and they trust with his usual success. He bore with him an address to the president of that great republic.

Among the interesting and encouraging circumstances which have marked the past year, the committee especially notice the deliverance, after a long confinement, of the Africans who were found on board the *Amistad*, and who were at one time charged with piracy and murder. These victims of oppression have been declared free by the sentence of the supreme court of the United States, and are now under the care of some generous friends, whose object is to afford them a christian education, before their restoration to that beloved land, from which they had been torn by the ruthless slave-trader. The general cause of abolition, the committee are happy to report, is rapidly advancing in that country, notwithstanding the great difficulties and discouragements with which it has to contend.

In the Brazilian empire enlightened men are convinced of the moral, social, and political evils of slavery; and the conviction is gaining ground, especially among the youth of that country, that the system is incompatible with national honour and prosperity. Premiums on free labour have been proposed by the diputados, with encouraging prospects of success; and, on their recommendation, the government of Brazil (to its honour be it spoken) has discharged all slaves engaged in the public works, and substituted free labourers for them. May nothing be done by this country which shall turn them from the course upon which they appear to have entered!

In connexion with the Brazils, the committee advert to an interesting and important fact. One of their friends, who has been travelling for some months in that country, especially with the view of collecting information on slavery and the slave-trade, (which will, no doubt, be presented to the public in due time,) has drawn up and put into circulation at Rio de Janeiro above 8,000 pamphlets, in the English and Portuguese languages, on the evils of slavery, and the results of emancipation in the British colonies.

The committee await with the greatest interest the development of the measure for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies; and indulge the hope that the present enlightened administration, sustained by men of all parties, will speedily and effectually accomplish that great and good work.

In Holland, the committee have reason to believe that the cause of abolition is attracting observation and gaining converts.

The address to the people of Holland and Denmark voted at the Convention, has been translated into the Dutch language, and extensively circulated; and private communications convey to the committee the pleasing intelligence, that a distinguished member of the Dutch legislature intends to moot the question of emancipation in the chambers, at an early period.

In Denmark favourable indications have manifested themselves, and the committee are led to hope, that the encouragement given to the slave-trade in the island of St. Thomas will not much longer be permitted to disgrace the government.

In the diet of Sweden the abolition of slavery in the small island of St. Bartholomew has been warmly advocated, and we trust that, by the generous decision of the government, it will ere long be accomplished.

The fact that British subjects have large capitals embarked in the slave-system, and that their agents have not scrupled to deal in the persons of men, is now too well attested to admit of dispute. The Cuban and Brazilian Mining Associations are all implicated in these nefarious doings. The exposure of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, (to be followed shortly by that of the other companies,) which has appeared in the columns of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, has led some of the share-holders to come forward for the purpose of effecting the termination of so disgraceful a state of things. It is however to be lamented, that the Directors have thrown obstacles in their way, which may impede, if they do not prevent the emancipation of upwards of 400 slaves, of whom that association have become possessed, in defiance of the laws both of God and man. It has been ascertained that the mining associations alluded to have upwards of

4000 slaves in connexion with their various establishments, large numbers of whom (there is little doubt) have been purchased from the slavers on their arrival from the Coast of Africa.

From the foregoing rapid sketch of the proceedings of the Society, and review of events since its last anniversary, it will be seen that the work in which it is engaged, is one of great magnitude and importance, and intimately connected with the glory of the Divine Being, and the good of mankind; yet its importance will be increased, when it is remembered that upwards of seven millions of human beings, men, women and children, are held in slavery by professedly christian powers, and that our own beloved country is yet guilty of the crime.

In the United States there are	2,750,000 slaves
In the Brazils	2,500,000 "
In the Spanish Colonies	600,000 "
In the French Colonies	265,000 "
In the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish Colonies, and the Republic of Texas	150,000 "
And, last in the dreadful catalogue, in British India, it is computed	1,000,000 "

To the latter subject, as one of paramount interest and importance to the anti-slavery cause, the committee have directed their serious attention; and have taken the necessary preliminary steps to promote its total abolition. The Right Hon. Dr. Lushington, not less from the deep interest he takes in promoting the general freedom and happiness of mankind, than in compliance with their urgent solicitation, has undertaken the conduct of this great question in the House of Commons; and they call upon every abolitionist throughout the land to support him, in his noble attempt to make every part of the soil of this great empire sacred to freedom. In the meantime, the committee recommend to their friends the prompt and liberal distribution of a pamphlet, which has been prepared under their sanction, and is now ready for delivery, on slavery and the slave-trade in British India, with notices of the existence of these evils in the islands of Ceylon, Malacca, and Penang, drawn from official documents. They are the more anxious in recommending this course, because they fear the impression exists, that the system of slavery has been abolished in the East, as well as in the West Indies.

Upon the most moderate computation, the slave-trade dooms to the horrors of slavery every year, among

Christian powers	120,000
Mohammedan powers	50,000

Destroyed annually in procuring the above	170,000
	280,000

Making a total of	450,000
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Of every thousand victims to the slave-trade, *one-half* perish in the seizure, march, and detention on the coast; *one-fourth* of those embarked perish during the middle passage; and *one-fifth* of those who are landed perish in the seasoning during the first year, and the remaining three hundred, with their descendants, are doomed to hopeless bondage and a premature grave!

This is the melancholy case the committee present to the friends of religion and humanity throughout the world, and thus earnestly entreat their warm and zealous co-operation to rescue these millions from the depths of their sorrow and degradation, and to deliver the vast continent of Africa from the horrors and desolations of the slave-trade.

#### TEXAS LAND AND EMIGRATION COMPANY.

To the Editor of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

SIR,—In the February number of your paper I notice a communication from Mr. Henry Prater, secretary of the Texan Land and Emigration Board. Several items in the piece I wish to notice. I shall state only such facts as are perfectly well known to the friends of the slave on this side of the Atlantic.

1. As to the anti-slavery men and their position in Texas. Early in the history of independent Texas, some of our anti-slavery brethren entertained the opinion that free-labour emigration to Texas would soon change the character of the population, and lead to the abolition of slavery. This opinion is now considered erroneous, among all well informed persons. Various causes have checked emigration to Texas from the non-slaveholding states of our union; and the pecuniary embarrassments of the slave-states have led to an extensive emigration of planters with their slaves. So that, within three years, probably from 60,000 to 100,000 slaves have gone from this country to Texas. There is no reason to believe that one-half that number of white persons have gone thither. It is pretty well understood, moreover, that the import of slaves from Cuba, or from other places and countries via Cuba, has been considerable; so that the slave-holding interest in Texas has become stronger than it was even at the time the Texans declared themselves independent. It is surprising, therefore, to persons on this side of the water, that even a Texan agent should represent the situation of a friend of liberty in Texas as in any respect desirable.

2. Mr. Prater says, "The introduction of slaves is not allowed (by law) except from the United States, and that only on the most limited and partial scale." This is news to us in America; news almost as strange as the intimation in a London paper, last winter, "that the governor of BALTIMORE had declared General Harrison president of the United States." Any restrictions on the slave-trade between the United States and Texas are quite as apocryphal as the existence of such a dignitary as the "governor of Baltimore." On the contrary, such emigration is encouraged in every way, and always has been. Texas is in truth, nothing but a SLAVE COLONY of the United States. The formation of it, the armed emigration which wrested it from Mexico, and declared it independent, were only parts of a long cherished scheme, to annex that vast region to the United States, to extend the slave-labour system; and by, the annexation of new slave-holding states, to secure the preponderance of the slave power in our Congress.

The project of annexation was defeated by anti-slavery effort; and the establishment of commercial relations between Texas and Great Britain renders its future occurrence very improbable. But this, in concurrence with other causes, has only served to increase the number of slave-holding emigrants from the United States to the inexhausted cotton fields of Texas.



How liberal the Texans are towards free people of colour, may be judged of from the single fact, that, in 1840, a law prohibiting their residence in Texas, on penalty of reduction to slavery, was enacted by the Texan Congress. Mr. Prater, finds it convenient to refer only to the statutes of 1838! Perhaps a reference to recent laws might show him that Mr. Maillard was entirely correct.

3. As to any restrictions upon clergymen preaching to negroes, I am not aware that any greater legal restrictions exist there than in several of our states. But everywhere the MASTER, AND HE ALONE, decides whether or not a slave may hear the gospel preached. The slave in Texas has no religious rights, and what is denied to him as a right he will not be allowed to receive as a favour, in the majority of instances, either in Texas or the United States. That great and vexatious legal restrictions upon preaching to them exist in Texas, Mr. Prater may learn by reading the laws of Texas subsequent to 1838.

4. As a specimen, somewhat ludicrous, of Mr. Prater's acquaintance with history and geography, I quote another sentence. Speaking of the company who employ him, he says, "They refer with pleasure to the example of Ohio, one of the neighbouring states of the Union, in which slavery has been abolished; and to that of Kentucky, in which it would have been abolished but for the indiscretion of the abolitionists. Ohio happens to be at a goodly distance from Texas, much to the comfort of Texan slave-holders; who might find the thousands of Ohio abolitionists as ready to convey their fugitive slaves to Canada, as they now are those from the 'neighbouring' states of our Union! In what age of the world, since the flood, slavery existed in Ohio, or when it was abolished, the citizens of Ohio would gladly learn from Mr. H. Prater; as they are deeply interested in the antiquities of their state! Ohio, with Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, (the two last now territories, and soon to become states) form part of a region from which slavery was by law excluded before any white inhabitants, save a few of French origin, lived on the soil; a soil now cultivated by nearly THREE MILLIONS of free labourers."

The alleged influence of abolitionists in retarding emancipation in Kentucky is equally accordant with truth. By the constitution of that state, the legislative body has no power to abolish slavery. They can only enact a law, that the people shall vote two years in succession on the question, whether a constitutional convention shall be chosen to amend the constitution, so as to abolish slavery. These restrictions, designed to render abolition difficult have existed for fifty years. Many attempts have been made in the state legislature, to pass a law providing for the assembling of a convention to amend the constitution. But these attempts have always been in vain till within fifteen months past. So, little more than one year since, the necessary laws *did* pass in the legislature; and the question of a convention was submitted to the people, in their primary assemblies. Owing to the prevailing excitement connected with the presidential election, the voters rejected a convention, by a majority of about 10,000. The minority, however, nearly 30,000, were by no means disheartened, and the question is now agitating that state to its centre; and as the vast majority of its voters are not slave-holders, it is not too much to expect, that, now the excitement of our national election has passed away, slavery in Kentucky will speedily receive its death blow.

So that, at the very moment when abolitionists were exerting the most influence, both in Kentucky and the Union at large, the nearest approach to abolition took place in Kentucky! Anti-slavery men in England, doubtless, know how to appreciate the cry, "you are retarding the cause of emancipation by your indiscretion;" a cry often raised, if I mistake not, in Parliament, during the very session in which the emancipation act was passed.

5. Did it never occur to Mr. Prater, that TEXAN "bond-holders," had some interest in maintaining Texan independence, as well as Mexican bond-holders in opposing it? And has he forgotten that the ROMAN CATHOLICS of Mexico abolished slavery in Texas, while protestants have restored it? As a protestant minister of the congregational denomination, I may be allowed to have little sympathy with Romanism; but Mr. Prater's warnings against any alliance between abolitionists and Romanists, in reference to Texas, is truly worthy of serious attention: and the notorious fact, that holders of Texan bonds and land scrip, in Europe and America, are the chief agitators in favour of Texan independence, and Texan emigration, makes it no breach of charity to suggest the inquiry, how much money the Texan Land and Emigration Board may have invested in said stocks and bonds?

6. The monstrous idea, that there is any "extenuation" of the iniquity of Texan slavery in "the overwhelming necessity of the circumstances under which it commenced," is worthy of a holder of Texan bonds, and of no one else! What were these circumstances? Briefly as follows—Mexico abolished slavery by law in 1829. The emigrants from the United States, who held slaves, taking advantage of their distance from the central government, and the political disturbances in Mexico, evaded compliance with the abolition law. The scheme of annexing Texas to our Union as a slave country, long before agitated by Colonel Benton (now a member of our National senate) and General Hamilton, the Texan minister to England was urged with new ardour during the years of commercial activity and wildfire land speculation, prior to 1837. Thousands of emigrants, chiefly slave-holders with their slaves, and men of no principle, from the north, who desired to become slaveholders, flocked to Texas, organized an armed conspiracy, and forcibly wrested Texas from Mexico; formed a government, with a constitution, which prohibits both legislative and individual acts of emancipation; and then threw open the doors wide to slave emigration, and slave-trading with the United States, who are graciously permitted to be the "Guinea Coast" of Texas! What an "overwhelming necessity" is this! How well adapted to extenuate the guilt of General Hamilton, for instance, who was from the beginning one of the prime movers in the whole scheme, and is a very large slaveholder.

7. A few words as to the acknowledgment of Texan independence by Great Britain and other countries. The indecent haste with which our own pro-slavery government acknowledged it, may be readily accounted for—it was a necessary preliminary to the Union of Texas with this country. The acknowledgment itself, however, in this case and that of Great Britain, is based on a just principle, one on which our government always acts, except in the single case of HAITI, where the slave-holding interest, prevents it: viz. that every country independent *de facto* should be acknow-

ledged to be so by other nations; inasmuch as every country has the right to elect its own rulers, and regulate its own internal affairs without foreign intervention. The application of this simple maxim would go far to preserve permanent peace among the nations of the whole world; and a large proportion of the friends of the slave in America believe that Great Britain did right in forming commercial relations with Texas, on that general principle. Texas is independent, is a nation, in fact; and is likely to continue so.

That Great Britain desired to secure to her merchants a monopoly of the Texan trade by her treaty, is quite evident to those who are aware that Texan cottons, and sugars, and rice, must pay almost prohibitory duties, if imported into the United States; which duties are necessary to prevent the competition of the similar products of other countries from competing with the produce of our slave states, and which, therefore, cannot be relaxed with a good grace in favour of Texas. For one, I rejoice, that by its treaty of commerce, England has limited the extension of slavery under our own government, by keeping Texas so effectually out of our own Union, and thus rendering the work of abolition in the United States easier. Texas, as an independent state, does nothing to hinder abolition in the United States; as a member of our Union, she would protract the struggle many years.

While, therefore, the motives of Lord Palmerston, and your government are not very highly estimated in this country, the result is not considered by many of our most intelligent men as at all undesirable.

A single item further, to give Mr. Prater a little information respecting the laws of Texas. The Texan congress has recently passed a law EXEMPTING SLAVE PROPERTY from all liability for debts of the owners, except debts to the Texan government! What a hopeful prospect this presents to those engaged in Texan trade! It is, in effect, an act to prevent the payment of debts, except at the option and convenience of the debtor! The object of the law is well understood. The slave states of our Union are indebted to the free states, not far from 150,000,000,000 dollars, and their slave property is daily attached and sold at auction, to satisfy the demands of northern creditors. The law of Texas invites these worthy debtors to come to Texas and bring their slaves, by assuring them that they shall be safe henceforth, from the pursuit of their creditors; or, as a Galveston (Texas) newspaper, very quaintly remarks, "this act will go far to convince many southern gentlemen of the salubrity of our climate!" No doubt of it. Nor is there any more doubt that the very peculiar financial policy of Texas, and our slave states will be so well understood, before long, as to make commercial men think a little more highly of the value of trade with FREE LABOUR states and countries.

Before I close this already long letter, allow me to inquire with deference to the judgment of our friends in England, why do not English abolitionists unite to a man in the "anti-corn law" movement? Are they aware, that, not corn alone, but every product of the FREE LABOUR states of our country, is excluded from their markets, by high, and, for the most part, prohibitory duties; while the products of slave labour are subject to no duties, or very trivial ones? Are they aware that this state of things depresses the value of free labour in our country, not only by depriving us of the best market for our produce, (and limiting our ability to take British products, to an equal extent), but by making the free states dependent upon slave labour and its produce, for the means of paying for all our imports? Take away the factitious value thus given to slave labour, and its produce, and slavery must be overthrown in our land, simply because it will become a poor investment for capital, compared with free labour.

And you cannot doubt, Sir, that the extension of free labour in our country would increase both our ability and disposition to become larger consumers of British products, especially if you aid us in the work of abolition, by opening your market to the productions of free labour. Permit me to urge this subject upon your attention, as one which, in the opinion of the wisest men in the anti-slavery ranks in our country, is worthy of the deepest consideration. By action in the premises, you may save us the labour of years in the cause of abolition here.

The cause of abolition in the United States is onward. The unhappy divisions which retarded our progress have ceased, in a great measure, to embarrass us.

The influence of the World's Convention, co-operating with the effects of our efforts in this country, is daily seen in every part of our own land. Large numbers of the churches of different sects, and several ecclesiastical bodies, have recently decided against any further continuance of church fellowship with slave-holders; the good work is extending rapidly; and in our political and commercial circles the influence of anti-slavery views is spreading widely and rapidly. The effect of slavery in paralyzing the business and checking the growth of the free labour states is better understood, and more widely felt; while the results of our recent census show the progressive decline of the relative political power of slavery.

The recent deliverance of the Amistad captives, too, which may be considered an indication of the independence of our national judiciary of slaveholding control, calls forth general joy. The afflictive dispensation of Providence in the death of President Harrison, which place, a slaveholder once more in the presidential chair, will but hasten the crisis of the great contest, and the victory of liberty. From such a President we can expect only such measures of government as will strengthen the slave power; but to such a course it is confidently believed the people of the free states will not quietly submit. Our cause, then, through heaven's blessing, is onward; cheered and aided by the sympathy and co-operation of our friends in Europe, we hope for a speedy and successful issue of the contest.

We have cordially welcomed the beloved Sturge, and shall with equal ardour welcome our and humanity's old friend, Charles Stuart, to our shores. The more frequent these visits of love become, the more will the friends of the slave rejoice in the prospect of the consummation of their desires.

Intimately acquainted and connected, as I have been since 1834, with the anti-slavery cause, I can say with confidence that the World's Convention and the occasional visits of our English friends have been among the causes that have done most to give an impulse to the anti-slavery movement in these states. We look with deep interest to future visits, and another WORLD'S GATHERING, to note the progress of the work and devise plans for future effort. With great respect, I am yours,

CHARLES T. TORREY.

Boston, Massachusetts, April 26th, 1841.



# THE COMMERCE OF BRITISH INDIA, VIEWED IN ITS PROBABLE INFLUENCE ON THE SLAVE PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES, BY AN AMERICAN.

(Concluded from our last.)

But as we came to figures in our sugar statement, we will now give a similar view respecting cotton. Secretary Wooddury says, "that the production of cotton, in India, in 1791, was 150 millions of pounds, and in 1834, 185 millions of pounds." India furnishes cotton sufficient for her own consumption, the supply of China, and a large surplus goes to England, we learn from the same report to Congress. In 1831, the imports of Indian cotton into England were 75,627 bales; in 1835, 116,153 bales; and in 1840, we have 216,784 bales—nearly trebled in nine years. In the first quarter of 1840, the imports were 28,611 bales; and in the same term of 1841, we find 35,433; an increase of 7,822 bales. I think we have good reason to believe, that the similarity in quality of the Brazilian and East India cottons, has had the effect of manufacturers preferring the latter for rough work, on account of the lower price; and very much diminishing the demand for the former. We find in "Myers' Liverpool Mercantile Gazette" (excellent authority), that the imports of Brazilian cotton (all kinds) into Great Britain, have been lessening for the last nine years. In 1831, the importation was 174,508 bales; in 1835, 157,316; in 1838, 164,074; in 1839, 124,887; and in 1840, we find it reduced to 103,414; a decrease of 71,094 bales in nine years. This looks very much like the inability of its standing the competition much longer. The Indian article is also able to compete in price with many qualities of American cotton.

The next article in which we are closely concerned, is rice; and here we shall find that the East Indies allow South Carolina no monopoly; and notwithstanding that we excel them in quality in the European market, they are undermining us in price; and also improving its character by machinery and better cultivation. Were it not for the immense consumption of this grain in the East, ours could not exist a single year in the European markets; and did they not use their best rice there, which is fully equal to the Carolina (says Royle and other writers), we should stand but a poor chance now.

The valleys of the Ganges, Irawaddy, and other large rivers of India, have been, from time immemorial, the great rice fields of the central parts of Asia. The rice, so extensively cultivated in India, depends upon rain, or irrigation from tanks or rivers. These Captain Hall describes near Nundydroog, as "spread over a valley which is from six to eight miles across; and that they were used for irrigating myriads of rice fields. The embankments sometimes are miles in length. One valley was pointed out to him, about a mile broad, and 40 miles in length, which included between 30 and 40 tanks; every intermediate square yard of the intermediate spaces being richly cultivated." Dr. Roxburgh states, "that he never saw or heard of an Indian farmer manuring, in the smallest degree, a rice field; yet these fields have probably, for thousands of years, continued to yield annually a large crop of rice, on an average of 30 to 60 fold, even 80 or 100 has been known." From these short notices, which could be multiplied, were it necessary, from many authors, we learn that India is as capable of competing with us in the cultivation of rice, as she is with cotton. Very lately the improved rice machines of Ewbank and Lucas, and Shiel, have come into use in the East.

The countries which compete with us in the European markets are Bengal and Java. In the British West Indies, where it is getting to be of great consumption, the rice from Venezuela and New Granada, with that from the East Indies, is gradually supplanting ours. It is a common thing to see, in the Jamaica papers, advertisements of "bags of Calcutta and Santa Martha rice;" and in the summer of 1840, an enterprising mercantile firm of Kingston in that island, imported a ship's cargo of rice from the East Indies—a distance of nearly 10,000 miles! In 1838, Calcutta alone exported to Mauritius and Bourbon 926,364 bags of 164 lbs. each—equal to 151,923,696 lbs.; which, valued at 3 cents (1½d.) a pound, would make it worth 4,537,708 dollars, 78 cents, more than double the value of rice we export annually—(over 2,000,000 dollars). In 1835, 66,000 bags of cleaned East India were imported into Liverpool, and only 450 casks Carolina. In 1839, 97,000 of East India, and none of Carolina. This, however, was owing to the importation in that year of the rough rice (169,000 bushels) which is now dressed in England. In the year 1840, Liverpool imported 130,000 bushels of paddy from America, and 77,800 bags from India; showing a decrease on both kinds for that year. In 1837, some qualities of India rice sold at 18s. when Carolina was selling at 20s. a cwt.; and in 1841, the price of Patna (on the Ganges) cleaned, averaged 20s. 6d.

Coffee is also another article which is annually increasing in amount of importation and value. It is produced in almost every part of India; and within the last ten years, the beautiful island of Ceylon has been turned almost into one entire coffee field. The quality of Ceylon coffee has greatly improved lately, and we now find it one of the most saleable varieties in the English market. In 1834, nearly three millions of pounds were sent to England; and in 1840, a Ceylon paper states, "the plantations are in a very thriving condition; waste lands were being purchased with great avidity, and the next crop was expected to be a very abundant one." The export from British India to England, in 1834, exclusive of Ceylon) was over seven millions of pounds; and in 1840, the gross importations from the same sources was over twelve millions of pounds. In Myers' Mercantile Gazette, of 5th April, 1841, we find "that in the first quarter of this year, there had been received into England 63,437 bags and bales, and 1173 casks and tierces, exclusive of 17,132 bags of foreign East India coffee." There is no doubt, when the duty is reduced, as is now contemplated, that the coffee from the East will keep the Brazil and other low kinds out of the market, and that it will continue to improve in its quality, as the demand for it will become more general.

In looking over the government tables, and the price current gazettes we find, that since the throwing open of the East India trade in 1830, there has been a surprising increase in the importations of all the articles from that quarter of the globe, viz. indigo, jute, (coarse hemp) hides, raw silk, flax seed, wheat flour, ginger, castor oil of the finest quality (an article which we also manufacture largely in Virginia), saltpetre, black pepper, wool, and numerous other articles of great consumption, not only in Europe, but also in our own country. The Bengal indigo has driven the Carolina article out of the market in price and quality; and Europe and

America are now principally supplied from thence. We find that the hemp from British India (jute, &c.) competes with that from Russia and Manilla, and that it is capable of fully supplying the present demand for the article, from the great variety of plants of the genus found in all parts of Asia. The import of hides into Liverpool from India was in 1835, 367,000 and in 1839, 443,000. The imports of raw silk from India have also augmented very much I believe, as have the coarser kinds of the manufactured article. Flax-seed is also sent in very large quantities. Up to the end of the first quarter of this year, the imports of Indian flax-seed were about a fourth of the whole quantity from all parts—United States, Canada, &c. Wheat flour is also exported for the manufacturing of starch, and we find that in 1835, there was brought into Liverpool 4300; and in 1837, 18,700 bags from India. Ginger from India is a well-known article in our country; and we find in 1835, the imports into Liverpool, were 14,000 pockets and bags; and in 1839, 36,500, of the same packages. Saltpetre in 1835, was 34,800 bags and boxes, and in 1839, 58,000 ditto. In 1837, 500 casks of rum were imported from British India into Liverpool, and in the first quarter of 1841, we find in the Liverpool Mercantile Gazette of "5th April," 285 puncheons and 835 hogsheads from Bengal and other parts of British India, into the same port. Pepper is a fluctuating article, but we find that in 1835, 14,000 bags and bales, and in 1839, 24,000 ditto. The wool from the East Indies is of a poor quality, and generally used in the coarser manufactures; such as horse blankets, &c.

Now what are the conclusions which are forced upon us by the consideration of these facts? I think it is amply proved by all modern writers on India—1st. That she is amply capable of producing almost any quantity of the very articles which form the principal exports from our slave states. 2nd. That she is willing. 3rd. That there is abundance of tilled and untilled land. 4th. That labour is plentiful and cheap. 5th. That there is a very natural disposition, which has always prevailed in England, of buying at the cheapest markets; and 6th. That there is also a growing disposition in Britain to give her Indian subjects full justice as to government—and free trade as to commerce.

Reflections on these facts and circumstances must bring to our minds the inquiry—Will the planters of the southern states be able to stand the coming active competition; not only as to quantity, but as to quality of material? I think it all resolves itself into one simple answer, that they who sell the cheapest of the same article, of whatever variety of merchandise, and no prohibitions in the way, will get the most custom.

I believe it can be safely asserted, that it is very certain, that with the present costly system of slave-labour at the south, they will be unable to stand so many chances against them. If we have been able to produce the same articles better and cheaper with a rich soil and ingenious machinery, it does not stand to reason, that other countries with the same soil and cheaper labour, (because free) may not take advantage of our improvements, and backed by a wealthy company, and encouraged by a powerful government, be able to defy our competition. It is not possible—it is against the very nature of our present system.

I hope the planters of our southern states may not be afraid to be heard above their voices, in asking themselves—What are we to do? Can we meet this scarcely to be supposed change? Is it right, politic, or profitable to continue the wasteful system of slave-labour any longer? The answer of every candid man who inquires into the subject is, you cannot go on exhausting whole tracts of fertile land by this plan—moving further west every few years, and the original plantations falling back into an unclaimed wilderness, (which is the operation at the south) without ruining yourselves, and the country also.

Slavery is a system so unchristian, so impolitic, so dangerous to the external and the internal peace of the United States, that if we persist in it, the prosperity and the re-publican institutions of our beloved country, must become shattered, divided, and finally ruined. There is no danger in emancipation—there is every danger in the continuance of the present system. We know that slavery is wrong in principle—profitable only momentarily, and under very favourable circumstances of soil and climate—that it is degrading to the bondsmen, and demoralizing to the masters—and that it "contains in itself the very germs of violence and confusion."

But perhaps it will be asked by the planters—Suppose we do emancipate the negroes? Shall we be able with their free labour, and our time saving machinery, to compete with labour in the East at 13 cents a day? I think this is satisfactorily answered by the fact, that we have at present the supplying of the largest quantity of the two main articles in which the southern states are directly concerned—cotton and tobacco; and that, with our ingenuity and skill, free black labour at 25 cents a day, and a shorter distance, no American can doubt that we should be able fully to compete with India in cheapness of production. Give America full swing and an open market, and England dreads her more than any other competitor. The very reverse of this is the case at present; continuing in our present system, we shall gaze on the conflict, and tremble for the result.

A few words and this paper will be brought to a close. It may be supposed that, if India entirely supplies Britain with the articles that we now do, she (Britain) will impoverish herself by losing so valuable a market for her manufactures as the United States now is. That there would be a loss is very certain, but it does not follow that losses are always impoverishment. No, no. A glance at the truth of the case will show us the fallacy of such an idea. If England loses 17 millions of customers in America, she gains 100 millions in India. It is a fact that is not generally known (particularly in America), that the present consumption of British manufactures in the East Indies is not more than would amount to 13 cents a year for each individual in the whole population! Jamaica consumes 20 dollars a head, Trinidad 30 dollars, Cape colony 30 dollars, Australia 40 dollars—and India only a New York shilling! Give justice to India in law and commerce, and how will it stand? At the moderate computation of 5 dollars a head, she would take to the amount of 500 millions of British manufactures annually! What an amount to our present consumption of 50 millions of dollars!

The writer of this little pamphlet has no desire to show his country in the worst of lights, or to exult over her mistakes and errors. Far from it. It has been his aim, in collecting these few but important facts, to endeavour to show, without excitement, and by a detail of that which cannot be contradicted, the dangerous and impolitic course the southern people are now pursuing, and which must certainly involve the whole



country in confusion and loss at no distant day. It is his prayer and desire that she will ponder on these things, and remember that it is only by the favour of the Great Jehovah that nations exist; and that, if we do not take timely warning from the example of others, we shall be as the things that have been, and are not. Our Saviour mourned over Jerusalem and Capernaum, because they repented not of their misdeeds, nor received the prophets which were sent unto them. And for this he tells them in one place that their homes shall be left unto them desolate; and in another, that it would be more tolerable in the day of judgment for Tyre (which received the awful condemnation of God for dealing in the souls of men and women) than for them! We see the judgments of God in passing through Syria and Palestine to this day; and, if we travel in South America, we have a more modern example of the same results from the same sinful and wicked conduct. Or, to come nearer home, we shall find in Virginia and Maryland "a fruitful land turned into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein."

Heartily desiring the substantial and solid prosperity of all classes of his countrymen, and the permanency of her democratic institutions, which he believes are based on truth and excellence, he wishes very respectfully to ask their perusal and consideration of this attempt to lay before them that which concerns them very deeply.

12th of 4th Month, 1841.

#### SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

No. v.

HAD proper measures been taken by the East India Company to discountenance the system of slavery within the territories which successively became subject to its authority, either by conquest or by cession, the evil complained of would scarcely have had an existence at the present time. But, so far from doing this, the tendency of all their measures has been to foster and strengthen the abomination. Some feeble attempts have been made, from time to time, to regulate its incidents; such as the enactment of rules to prevent the importation of slaves from foreign states for purposes of traffic, as well as to prohibit the practice of kidnapping, and the sale of children for prostitution. The rules, to have been effective in securing the object, should have prohibited the importation of slaves under any plea, and for any purpose whatsoever. On this point, Mr. Chaplin, a high authority, makes the following remark: "The importation of slaves from foreign states now stands prohibited by the orders of the supreme government. This, however, has increased the price, without putting a stop to the traffic" (*Adam's Law and Custom, &c.*, p. 149). And to have rendered the laws against kidnapping effectual, says Mr. Robertson, another excellent authority, "the purchasing of slaves under any circumstances, from Brinjarrees, Charons, Gossains, or other migratory dealers," should have been forbidden, as well as "the free transport of slaves" from one place to another; for, he adds, whilst this (their free transport) is allowed, "the practice of kidnapping will be continued, whatever penalties may be enacted against it" (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, pp. 436 and 437). And, with respect to the latter object, independently of the fact, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to frame rules which would not be open to easy violation, the mere prohibition of the guilty practice can never extirpate it. Mr. Colebrook felt the difficulty of the case, and whilst he stated it "to be incumbent on a government attentive to the morals of the people over whom it rules to prevent this practice by prohibitory laws," he thought "it might be going too far to presume the intention of prostitution; and to prohibit all instruction for purposes of exhibition of dances, which the people are very partial to, and which are a regular part of their religious festivals and celebrations" (*Ibid* p. 312). How extensive the evil is, may be gathered from the fact, that, in Rungpoor, in 1809, there were 1200 houses occupied by women of that profession, in 295 of which there were found 460 females between 12 and 25 years of age; and 218 advanced in life, who acted as servants and superintendents. All these were purchased when children (*E. I. Gazetteer*, vol. ii. p. 477). In referring to "the abduction of children from their country, their family, and their home, for the purpose of devoting them to sensual as well as idolatrous purposes," a practice which, "from its origin to its consummation is pronounced to be iniquitous," Judge Lascellas says, "I believe it to be a well known fact, that there is a large class of men who obtain a livelihood by traffic in female children for the use of the Pagodas" (*Ibid*, pp. 388, 392). And, as the prostitutes and priests are willing to pay the highest prices for the children brought to them, there is no lack of an abundant supply. But it appears that the penalty of the law is already evaded by the owners of nautch or dancing girls; for, "instead of sale, as of a slave, it is already common to make an engagement for a long term of years!" (*Ibid*, p. 312). And thus we perceive the folly of attempting to regulate a system essentially and incurably vicious. In fact, wherever there is a demand for slaves, it matters not for what purpose, means will be found to obtain the supply to meet it; and this remark applies as much to their importation by sea as to their introduction by land. While slavery itself, the root of these evils, remains untouched, it is vain to expect any cessation of the slave trade in such a country as India.

The laws which make the murder of a slave a capital offence, and which admit his testimony as a witness, are undoubtedly great improvements upon the Mohammedan law, but of little practical benefit to him in the way of protection. To the redress of his grievances, whether of outrage on his person, or of any other class of injuries that can be inflicted on him, the most formidable obstacles oppose themselves "1. Distance, and the difficulty of immediate European interference. 2. The venality of the native local civil servants: and, 3. The want of energy, and a spirit of inquiry, for the redress of grievances on the part of persons in authority, who often leave the investigation of complaints to their Cutcherry servants. The latter often possess so great an influence over their European masters, as to bias their actions and better inclinations by the plausible turns they can give to any inquiry carried on in a strange language." (Par. Pap. 128, 1804, p. 38). To these remarks of Captain Bevan, may be added those of Mr. Baber: He says, "The commission of violence, or of any offence, upon the persons of slaves, does not affect their state of bondage; and the ruling power has not the right of granting their manumission; and what slave," asks the learned judge, "under such circumstances, dare appeal to the laws? Again," he observes, "there is the difficulty of informing slaves of the laws, from their want of intelligence, and the distance they are kept at by the native establishments; the expense and uncertainty of obtaining relief under them; and, above all, as I before hinted, the dread of attempting to oppose a power beneath which it has become habitual to bend; all which must, and does give almost impunity

to tyrannical masters" (*Ibid*, p. 14). In another place, referring to certain "horrid barbarities" which had been inflicted on four slaves, from the effects of which one of them appears to have died, Mr. Baber adds, "The slaves themselves preferred no complaint; but if it is to depend on the slaves themselves to sue for the protection of the laws, their situation must be hopeless indeed; for having no means of subsistence independent of their owners and employers, their repairing to, and attending upon a public Cutcherry, is a thing physically impossible; and even if those provisions of the regulations that require all complaints to be preferred in writing were dispensed with in favour of the slaves; and they were exempted from the payment of tolls at the numerous ferries they would have to pass, and though an allowance was made to them by government during their detention at the Cutcherries and Courts, unless forfeiture of the right of property over slaves was the penalty for ill usage, their situation would only become more intolerable than it was before they complained" (*Ibid*, p. 15).

It was formerly the custom to sell slaves, as well as land, seized by the Board of Revenue in Madras, to pay arrears of taxes. In a report of Sir Thomas Munro, dated 16th July, 1822, he states that, in one single talook (out of sixty-three in Malabar), 1330 rice fields were sold in the year 1818, in order to satisfy public balances! And Mr. Vaughan admits "the sale of slaves at that period, for arrears of revenue," to be as "common as the sale of land." Through the repeated remonstrances, however, of Mr. Baber against this practice, an order was issued in 1819, prohibiting the sale of slaves in future, on account of arrears of revenue in Malabar, where alone, it was said, "the practice has obtained." Whether this order has been strictly enforced we have no means of judging; but it is a remarkable fact, that Mr. Baber, who resided in Malabar to the end of 1828, never heard of its existence up to that period! He found it inserted in the parliamentary papers on East India slavery issued that year which he was led to examine some time after, (*Ibid* p. 21). If slaves are not now sold with the land seized to pay arrears of revenue, what becomes of them? Are not their owners compelled to sell them for that purpose?

But it would appear that the selling of slaves by order of the Courts for payment of arrears of revenue, or other purposes, existed in other districts than Malabar. Mr. J. F. Thomas, criminal judge of Combaconum, adverts to this subject in a communication to the register of the Provincial court, dated 3rd December, 1832, in the following terms:—"I take this opportunity to remark, that the records of this court show that sales of slaves, under the orders of the court, have taken place in the Trichinopoly division of this Zillah; a clause, therefore, would be required in the event of the enactment of the provisions of the Bengal code, either prohibiting this practice, or limiting the right of purchase in such sales to the residents within the Zillah" (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 392). In 1830, the magistrates of Canara informed Mr. Newnham, that "the courts in Canara daily put up slaves for sale, as they would any other moveable property!" If, says the learned judge, "the sale of slaves, like other personal property, by the officers of justice, in execution of decrees of court, be altogether true, it would be time to drop the style of language by which slavery is still, in this, the thirtieth year of British rule over Canara, and thirty-eighth of the rule in Malabar, stated to be only tolerated." No remedy, that we can learn, was ever applied to this crying evil. The Fourjdarry Adawlut, to whom this subject, among others, was referred, dismissed it in the following terms:—"The court abstain from any remark on the general subject of slavery in Malabar, as the government have stated their intention to wait for orders from England before they disturb the existing state of things in Malabar!" (*Ibid* p. 405). Alas! for the poor slaves.

In 1819, Mr. Campbell informs us that, among other recommendations to check the growth of slavery, and ameliorate the condition of slaves, he recommended "that all slaves attached to lands escheating to government should be declared free." But as this, as well as all his other recommendations, was merely "ordered to be recorded" (*Ibid* p. 36), there is an inference deducible from it to which special attention should be called: "As lands and estates with slaves attached to them are assumed to be, and in fact are, from time to time, escheating to government; and 'as the rule is to retain such lands and estates,' says Mr. Adam, 'in the possession of government, it follows by the clearest implication that the proprietors of East India stock are, in their own right, as a chartered and incorporated company, the owners and masters of the slaves attached to those lands and estates; and that the half-yearly dividends which they draw from India are in part the direct and indubitable produce of slave-labour, and suffering, and degradation'" (*Law and Custom, &c.* p. 212). The only instance we can find recorded of the voluntary manumission of slaves by the company, took place in 1836. In that year the slaves attached to the Punney estates, in Coorg, were emancipated. They were probably about two to three hundred in number, men, women, and children (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 79). But were these all that were, and still are held in bondage by the company? It were a disgrace indeed that the honourable company of merchants trading to the East should, in common with the directors and shareholders of the Brazilian Mining Associations, continue to derive any part of their income from a source so infamous and unhallowed!

We now propose to show that the company has fostered and strengthened the atrocious system of slavery in British India; and that, with a few honourable exceptions, their servants, in the highest and lowest offices, have either been its apologists, or have but feebly exerted themselves to mitigate its character, and introduce a better state of things.

1. The company has sanctioned the interpretation of the rule of 1793, by which a legal existence has been given to the Mohammedan and Hindoo slave codes, (with one or two modifications, subsequently introduced), contrary to every principle of just reasoning, and the sacred obligation, of duty.

2. The company has sanctioned the subsequent enslavement of multitudes of free and innocent persons, contrary, if not to usage, yet, it would appear, both to Mohammedan and Hindoo law, and their posterity after them, by which the constantly decreasing number of the slave population has been kept up and increased.

3. The company has sanctioned the unrestricted sale of slaves, supposed to belong to persons subject to their authority, by which the tenderest ties of social life have been totally disregarded and families broken up; and by which an extensive system of kidnapping has been created, with all its attendant horrors.

4. The company has sanctioned the free importation of slaves into their territories, except for purposes of traffic, from foreign states, by which their



number has been augmented, and an external slave-trade actually encouraged.

5. The company has sanctioned the rule, that "a slave entering its territories does not become free, nor can he who was lawfully a slave emancipate himself, by running away from one country where slavery is lawful, to another where slavery is equally lawful. The property in the slave still continues in the master, and the master has the same right to have it restored to him that any native subject of our territories could have, supposing that right to be established in the mode prescribed by the local laws and regulations!" (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 380.)

6. The company has sanctioned the continued slavery of large numbers of free persons, acknowledged by their own servants to be illegally held in bondage:—"Thousands of whom," says Mr. Macnaughten, "are at this moment living in a state of hopeless, and contented (?), though UNAUTHORIZED bondage," (*Adam's Law and Custom*, &c. p. 239). And this remark is applicable, according to Mr. Newnham, to "the numerous class of Dhers," and to other "ostensible or reputed slaves" in Malabar, (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 415).

7. And, finally, the company has uniformly resisted every *bond fide* attempt to abolish slavery in British India; and has refused to adopt any measures, the direct tendency of which was to ameliorate the condition of the degraded and wretched slaves.

We have no wish to detract from the general merits of the company's servants in India; but we deeply regret to say, that, with comparatively few exceptions, they have not opposed themselves to the system of slavery unhappily established there; and that not a few of them have been its apologists and advocates. To particularize might appear invidious, and would probably serve no useful purpose; we therefore refer to the numerous documents on East India Slavery, which have been laid before parliament, from 1828 to 1839, both inclusive, for details on this painful subject; and content ourselves, for the present, with this single observation, namely, that slavery exists in British India unchecked as to its extent, and unmitigated as to its form, and that this state of things is mainly attributable to the company's servants, acting under its instructions, or in view of its policy in this matter; and that, whilst the utmost latitude of exposition has been given to every rule which sanctioned, or was supposed to sanction, the hateful system, by the supreme authority, from the time of Lord Cornwallis to that of the present governor general, the most limited interpretation has been put upon every law, British or native, the tendency of which was to curb it, or to destroy its revolting adjunct, the slave-trade.

#### SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*.

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of sending you a copy of a remonstrance on the subject of American slavery, addressed by the theological students of two universities and twenty-two colleges and academies in Great Britain, to the rising ministry of America. A copy has been sent to each college and university in the United States. It endeavours, by earnest and affectionate admonitions and appeals, founded upon the principles of the gospel, to engage the energies and influence of those who are so soon to occupy the pulpits of the American churches in the cause of entire and immediate abolition.

As it aims at the same object as that to which the *Anti-slavery Reporter* is dedicated, perhaps you may think that its insertion would not be altogether useless.

I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

W. H. DYER.

Highbury College, London, May 17th, 1841.

#### REMONSTRANCE.

London, February 19th, 1841.

DEAR BRETHREN,—We, the theological students of various colleges of Great Britain and Ireland, have been so deeply affected by the facts, attested by impartial witnesses and confirmed by authentic documents, which have come to our knowledge respecting slavery in the United States, as to resolve, in the spirit, we trust, of christian fidelity and love, to address you upon the subject.

When we express our firm belief that it involves the highest interests of the church, as well as the rights and destinies of mankind, and that it is our imperative duty to invite your attention to it, we feel assured you will excuse apologies; while, at the same time, we hope that the similarity of our situations and sympathies to yours, as students pledged to the work of the ministry, together with our distance from the scene of bondage and the conflict of opinions, may insure for our remarks a kind attention, and induce you to regard them as the dictates of reason and conscience, uninfluenced by personal interest or party prejudice.

We do not for a moment suppose that you are all, either supporters of slavery, or indifferent to its evils—we know that you number many whose generous energies are devoted to the cause of liberty: to these we wish to convey the sentiments of heartfelt sympathy. But there may be others who have seen slavery only in its milder forms, and, never having closely examined its tendencies, are accustomed to think that it may be excused and tolerated without injustice or danger; to such, not in the spirit of censors, but of christian brethren, we would address the language of affectionate admonition.

We believe that every system of slavery, except it be a punishment for crime, is a violation of the rights of man, and a sin against God. There are neither any principles of reasoning, nor any acknowledged laws of property, according to which the slaveholder can shew the least right to keep his fellow-man in bondage for the promotion of his interest, or the gratification of his inclinations. He has no original right, and he can acquire none—any more than he can acquire a right to sell his own conscience, or to purchase another man's. When, moreover, we place ourselves in the situation of the slave, we feel conscious that slavery is unjust—that man has a right to freedom—that there is an antagonism in his nature to bondage. If slaveholders deny this, we say, try them; they are the men who ought to be slaves. They generally, however, admit it in relation to themselves, but deny it in relation to the slave: but why?—has he not human sympathies?—is he not a man? Besides, it is the will of a benevolent

God that things should be arranged so as to secure the highest amount of happiness. Can the subjection of large numbers of our race to the hardest toils, ever conscious that it is for the gain of another, to whom they must be bondmen till death, fall in with such an arrangement? Can the violent rupture of the tenderest ties, and the severity of those laws which are necessary to the very existence of slavery, to say nothing of temptations to exceed them, be in accordance with it? It is impossible that the system can secure advantages capable of counterbalancing a tithe of the misery it produces, or of the moral injury it inflicts. Slavery also invests the master with an authority which places the religious welfare of the slave almost entirely at his disposal. And, induced by avarice and the fear of enlightenment, he too often takes advantage of his power. The fact that there is a law in some of the southern states to fine or imprison whoever may instruct a slave to read, or give him a book, sufficiently proves the disposition of the master, and the deprivation of the slave.

We are obliged to believe that the christian church in America is deeply involved in the guilt of holding two millions of human beings in this cruel and debasing bondage. If not one of her members ever touched the profits of tyranny, we should say that to a great extent she was responsible, because she has never distinctly and solemnly condemned the system; but when we find that many of those members, and even some of her ministers, are accustomed openly to buy, and sell, and hold slaves, we feel that, though not the most cruel masters, they are directly chargeable with the lacerated bodies, the aching hearts, and the moral and intellectual imbecility of slavery: because professing the holiest principles they uphold a system of which these things are the necessary consequences. Against such conduct we feel compelled to protest, as a slander upon our common christianity. The most favourable aspect of slavery appears to us so revolting—presents such a perfect contrast to the benevolent spirit of the gospel, that it requires an exercise of charity to believe that a slaveholder can be a christian; but, when we look at the slavery of the United States in its severer forms, and mark the instances of unfeeling tyranny which are continually occurring, we are not only surprised and distressed that christians can support such a horrid system, but that it can exist at all where christian principles are recognized as truth. The slavery of the south is a system in which heartless cruelty unceasingly panders to the most contemptible avarice. These states, blessed with the gospel—with the mild and generous precepts of Jesus, whose yoke is easy, and whose service is freedom, amidst high sounding pretensions to liberty, practice cruelties at which our nature shudders. Not content with merely permitting the worst tyrannies of slavery, when unobserved, they have made them both public and permanent, by giving them the authority of law; they have honoured with the sanctions of the statute book, practices which, by the civilized world generally, are considered a public attack upon the rights of man.

The effects of slavery upon the moral and political interests of the nation, must be of the most baneful character. It represses in its victims every manly emotion, and keeps them in a state of brutal ignorance, and sometimes of disgusting depravity; while in many cases it cherishes the deepest enmity and the deadliest revenge. It moreover places within the reach of those who are, or may become masters, the means of gratifying the worst passions of their nature; tyranny may be exercised with impunity, lust gratified without restraint, and avarice may dash through every generous and just principle to attain its object. Such opportunities cannot be presented to men of all sorts every hour of the day, by two millions of slaves, without being greedily seized by thousands, the gratification of whose passions both prepares them for every base deed, and spreads widely in the community habits of thought and feeling destructive to social happiness and national prosperity.

But, brethren, the system seriously affects interests far more sacred than those which are merely political. It dishonours the gospel, and impedes its progress at home and abroad. The feelings and habits to which we have referred, as being produced by the practices which slavery sanctions, must tend to unfit those who support it for a reception of the offers of mercy, and an obedience to the precepts of purity—must be opposed to those earnest desires to benefit man and please God, which the gospel is intended to inspire. Where the truth has been received, the tendency of slavery is to paralyze its power—is it not thus?—we put it to you, brethren, do you think the slaveholding christian is in circumstances so favourable to the cultivation of the mind of Christ as others? Is there nothing in the system, and the scenes and practices it allows, incompatible with high spiritual attainments, and that thorough sincerity between God and the soul which excites the prayer, "Search me, O God, and try me, and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting?" If slavery be unfavourable to christian prosperity, its influence upon the minds of the unconverted must increase their reluctance to obey the gospel, and consequently augment the difficulty, and diminish the success, of your future labours. We entreat you, brethren, to look well to this. If bound by the obligations of deep gratitude, and also by a special and solemn consecration to Christ and his cause, you be found supporting, or even permitting, without strenuous opposition, a system which prevents the gospel from appearing in all the beauty of holiness in those who profess it, and which keeps men from Christ and salvation, by gratifying and strengthening their evil passions—do you act like wise and faithful men? The church of God and the souls of men are our solemn charge, and whatever would tarnish the former or endanger the latter, should be felt by us as touching our dearest and tenderest interest; and, if not so felt, we act as traitors to God and man.

[We are sorry to be obliged to defer the remainder of this interesting article till our next.]

THE SLAVE-TRADE ABOLISHED BY THE BEY OF TUNIS.—The *Malta Times*, of the 10th instant publishes a letter from Tunis of the 1st, announcing that the Bey, at the recommendation of the British Consul-general, Sir Thomas Reade, had decreed the abolition of the slave-trade within his dominions. He had himself set the example by giving liberty to all his own slaves, and promised to put an end to their further importation and exportation in the Regency.

COTTON AND FREE-LABOUR.—A prospectus is issued for the formation of a joint-stock company, for promoting the growth of cotton in India.



## DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month.

The following contributions have been received during the past month.				Donations		Subscriptions		Donations		Subscriptions		
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Wellingborough Auxiliary Society				10	0	0				1	1	0
Edward Pease, Darlington				5	0	0				1	1	0
John Backhouse				5	0	0				1	1	0
John C. Backhouse				2	0	0				1	1	0
William Backhouse				3	0	0				0	10	0
William Backhouse, Jun.				2	0	0				0	10	0
John Pease				2	0	0				0	10	0
Joseph Pease, Jun.				3	0	0				0	10	6
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Ann Colman				1	0	0						
William Robson				0	10	0				8	0	0
Isaac Sharp				0	10	0				10	10	0
Oxford Auxiliary Society				5	0	0				5	5	0
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John Wilkinson, High Wycomb				5	0	0				1	0	0
Rev. W. James, Bridgewater				0	10	0				1	0	0
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F. Thompson				0	10	0						
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— Murch				0	5	0				0	10	6
W. S. Brown				0	10	0						
— Pouch				0	10	0				0	5	0
— Whitby				0	10	0						
H. Nicholls				0	10	0						
— Aubrey				0	5	0						
J. Sully				0	5	0						
T. Sully				0	5	0						
— Clark				0	5	0						
— Philips				0	5	0				1	0	0
— Haviland				0	5	0				1	0	0
— Payne				0	5	0				0	5	0
Miss Brown				0	5	0						
Mrs. Holbrow				0	5	0						
Collection after a public meeting at Southampton				6	16	6						
Dr. Lindo, Southampton				0	10	6						
Joseph Clarke				0	10	6						
Charles Davis				0	10	6				1	1	0
G. Laishley				0	10	6				2	0	0
Joseph Knight				0	10	0				2	0	0
E. M. Randall				0	10	6						
Charles Marrett				1	0	0						
Rev. Dr. Wilson				0	10	6						
Mr. Palk				0	10	6						
Rev. Thomas Adkins				0	10	6						
Joseph Clarke, Jun.				0	10	6						
Edward Thompson				0	10	6						
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— Barling				0	5	0						
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A Friend				0	5	0						
Mr. Parmiter				0	5	0						
J. G. Glaisyer				0	2	6						
Miss Marett				0	5	0						
J. D.				0	2	6						
M.				0	2	6						
J. S.				0	2	6						
J. L. Harman				1	0	0						
J. M. Allen				0	10	6						
Mr. Newman				0	5	0						
Wednesbury Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society				45	0	0						
William H. Leatham, Wakefield							3	0	0			
George Benington							1	1	0			
Samuel Holdsworth				1	0	0	1	0	0			
Haxby Twisleton							0	10	0			
Mrs. Webster				1	0	0						
Mrs. Barff				1	0	0						
Samuel Stocks				5	0	0						
Rev. Thomas Johnston				1	0	0						
Thomas Benington				1	0	0						
John Scholey				0	5	0						
Richard Burrell				0	10	0						
James Thompson				0	10	0						
George Tappleton				0	10	0						
George Dickinson				0	1	0						
John Holdsworth				0	10	0						
Thomas Firth, Jun., Huddersfield				2	2	0						
Isaac Robson				1	1	0						
Edward Woodhouse				1	1	0	1	1	0			
Joseph Firth				1	1	0						
David Shaw				1	1	0						
Joseph Beaumont				1	1	0						
Richard Willett				1	1	0						
George Mallinson				1	1	0						
T. Schwann				1	1	0						
William Williams				0	10	0						
George Crossband				1	0	0						
Mrs. Knight				0	10	0						
John Clay, Toothill				2	0	0						
Thomas Firth				10	0	0						
Joseph Thorp, Halifax												
Joshua Blakey										1	1	0
Alexander Suter										1	1	0
F. E. Macauley										1	1	0
E. M. Wavell										1	1	0
Michael Stocks										2	2	0
W. D. Hitchin										1	1	0
William Heap										0	10	0
William Hatton										0	10	0
John Baldwin										0	10	0
John Abbott										0	10	6
Henry Brown												
Leeds Auxiliary Society										8	0	0
Henry Harris, Bradford										10	10	0
Henry Leah										5	5	0
Titus Salt										1	0	0
Robert Milligan										1	0	0
Henry Forbes										1	0	0
John Hustler, Jun.										1	0	0
William Lythall										1	1	0
James Gamutt												
James Ellis												
David H. Smith												
Joseph Holmes												
George Osborn, Jun.												
Joseph Rowntree, York										5	0	0
Misses E. and S. Backhouse										1	0	0
Mrs. A. Waller										2	0	0
Samuel Tuke										5	0	0
F. J. Capsie										5	0	0
David Priestman										2	0	0
J. P. Pritchett										0	10	0
Caleb Williams										2	0	0
Oswald Allen												
James Baker												
Firth Woodhead, Liverpool										1	0	0
James Clark, Doncaster										1	0	0
Manchester and Salford Auxiliary Society										95	0	0
Isaac Crewdson, Manchester										10	0	0
George Scrivens, Clapham										3	0	0
Benjamin Ifill, Barbados												
Rachel Stacey, Tottenham												
Haigh Foundry Company, Wigan										5	0	0
John S. Heron										1	0	0
Edmund Ashworth, Bolton										1	0	0
Michael Satterthwaite, Preston										1	0	0
Jacob Bright, Rochdale										10	0	0
James King										2	0	0
James Midgley										2	0	0
Susanna Haworth										2	0	0
John Petrie										1	0	0
Thomas Booth										1	0	0
Henry Kelsall										1	0	0
Robert Kelsall										0	10	0
George Ashworth										0	10	0
James Hoyle										1	0	0
Thomas Southworth										0	5	0
E. C. Slater										0	10	0
Joseph Fergusson, Carlisle												

Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 13, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London: and Published by LAWRENCE WILD, of 13, Catherine Street